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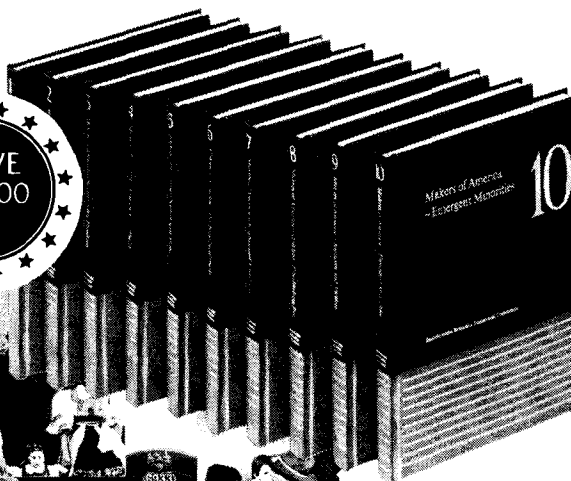
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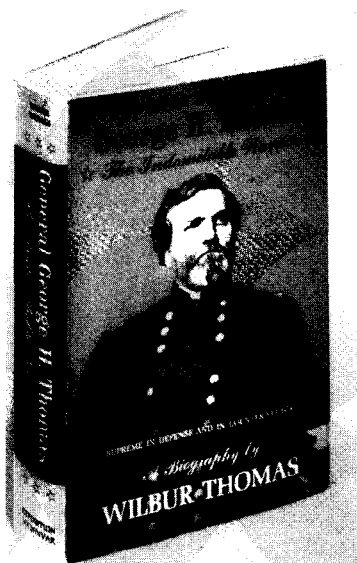
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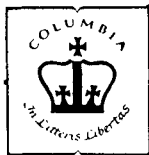
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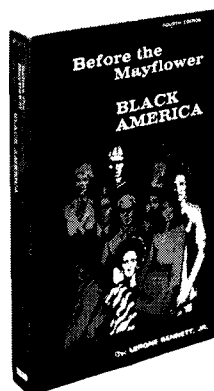
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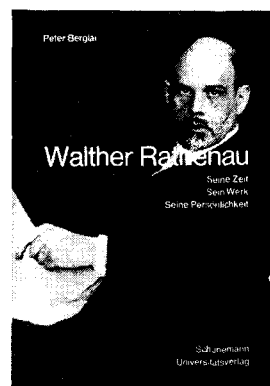
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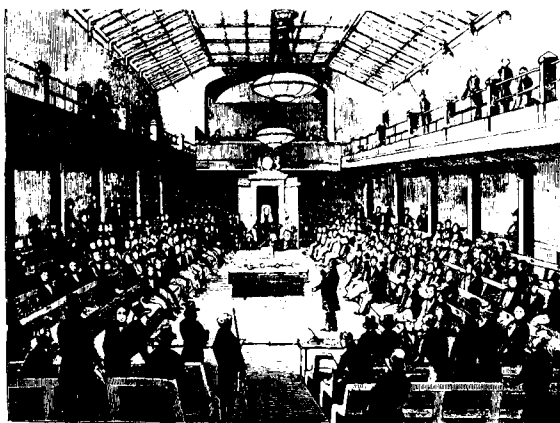
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VOLUME LXXV, NUMBER 6

OCTOBER 1970

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Articles for the *AHR*:

An Editorial

THE editors of the *American Historical Review*, like editors of scholarly journals everywhere, seek articles that are intelligently conceived, carefully researched, properly documented, and clearly and effectively presented. But often the principal consideration in determining whether an article should be published in the *AHR* is its appropriateness to the *AHR* and its audience. That audience is large—making allowances for the many readers of library copies, it probably runs between thirty and forty thousand—but it is also general, drawing on all specialties, in the United States and, increasingly, abroad. It does not follow from the range of our readers' interests that the articles we print should all be general, concerned with philosophy of history, say, or methodology, or professional problems; indeed, the occasion for such articles, like good performance in writing them, will probably remain rare enough. But the true scholarly article—confined to a carefully argued thesis, complete in itself, provocative in interpretation, and productive of further work by others—need not be parochial; it can have an appeal outside the specialty with which its author is primarily identified. It may, for example, cut across the lines of specialties or even of disciplines; even though addressed to a subject that is at first sight highly specialized, it may evoke or suggest parallels or comparisons with other countries, cultures, or eras; or it may provide new confirmation or criticism of broad themes that are or should be in the awareness of all serious historians. It is in such articles, not in communications addressed by specialists only to fellow specialists, that the editors of the *AHR* are interested.

No one will pretend that all the readers of the *AHR* should read all the articles appearing in a given issue; it will probably remain true that the overwhelming proportion of readers of any one article will be those with a professional (or specialist) interest in it. The editors, however, have a mandate to broaden that interest as far as possible, to publish the results, whether conclusive or provocative, of serious research and reflection that can affect the historical awareness of a wide range of readers. Positive prescriptions of this kind are inevitably phrased in generalities; editors and most readers will know when the intention has been fulfilled and when a performance has fallen short, although authors, understandably fascinated by the particular pursuit to which they have given themselves, may not easily arrive at so objective an assessment. Still, most readers of this editorial will recall articles in past issues that notably fulfill these requirements; some measure of the journal's success in this regard may be the great amount of time that one of our secretaries must give to the granting of permission to reprint. Or, more specifically, in October 1968 we published "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain" by Andrew C. Hess, a remarkable example of historical detective work, sweeping from Turkey through Spain to the Low Countries, that commands the attention of a wide variety of historians who could not be reached so effectively through any other journal. In February 1969 there appeared an almost perfect example of *multum in parvo* in Thadd E. Hall's "Thought and Practice of Enlightened Government in Corsica," a close examination of institutional change in that tiny island after its seizure by the French in 1768; surely here, it might seem, is an article that could interest only a few historians of France. Yet it offers what is in effect a laboratory experiment that raises profound questions about the dynamics and limits of institutional reform and about the interrelation of ideas and action. In the same issue Sheldon Hackney dealt with "Southern Violence" in a way that both illuminates a matter of serious historical and contemporary concern and profitably employs the hypotheses and techniques of scholars in other social sciences. The list could be extended readily with a comparable degree of self-evidence.

But medieval sculptors seemed to find it easier to portray graphically the tortured lineaments of the damned than to represent the bliss of the redeemed, and so it may be more convincing to indicate certain types of articles that appear regularly in the morning's mail and that, in accordance with the general policy outlined above, are as regularly returned.

Detailed, though often original and useful, accounts of minor diplomatic transactions.

Articles in local history in which a central relationship to broader historical concerns is not made explicit. Indeed, for local history to be acceptable in a general periodical, some broad analytical thesis is essential if the limited interest of the subject matter is to be transcended. Purely narrative accounts of

one or another colorful minor incident, local or national, have no place in a major journal.

Primarily biographical studies of the careers of second-rank or lesser figures, unless such studies should contribute directly to a fresh understanding of a major historical concern.

Articles summarizing books about to be published, or unrevised chapters from dissertations or books, forthcoming or recently published. An article properly conceived for a scholarly journal can, of course, be a by-product of a larger study or can lead in somewhat different form to a chapter or the entirety of a book. Chapters of books can be independent monographs, valuable in themselves. But two considerations should be kept firmly in mind; the year or more that it takes to get an article into print may well make the article supererogatory if it is too closely related to a book about to appear; while no scholarly reader can be expected to tolerate an article that is unfinished or merely a piece of something else, a study that cannot be judged without a knowledge of a context that must be sought elsewhere.

Most articles on methodology per se. While we would welcome an original, thorough analysis of an important methodological problem, the usual summons to a new approach that is a frequent and entirely proper feature of scholarly meetings probably lacks the permanent interest that would justify publication in the *AHR*. It may well be that the validity and fruitfulness of novel methodologies are most effectively demonstrated through their scholarly application to particular subjects. But not all such demonstrations are appropriate to the *AHR*. Some quantitative studies, for example, at present require such restricted subject matter that the accumulation of articles in specialized journals is a necessary precondition for those general interpretive essays that can in time make non-specialists aware of a methodological revolution.

Routine articles summarizing the "state of the argument" on a particular theme of scholarly debate. Again, a truly original analysis—perhaps itself making a substantive contribution to the debate—is welcome and certainly would be of interest to our readers, but review articles—assigned at the editors' discretion—will undoubtedly be the principal means to accomplish this purpose.

In some respects and with some subjects the *AHR* can and will explore the frontiers of historical knowledge; indeed, innovation in subject matter or perspective that transcends the occasional or polemical "bright idea" is a primary responsibility. But in some narrowly focused or highly technical fields the *AHR*, out of consideration for its readers, must rely on the specialized journals to conduct the detailed explorations, while leaving to the *AHR* and similar pub-

lications the equally important task of mediating, in due time, the results of a multitude of scattered researches to the general run of historians.

Every year about 250 manuscripts are submitted to the *American Historical Review*. Less than a tenth of that number can be printed; perhaps another two tenths warrant serious consideration. Many of the latter manifestly deserve publication in their submitted form or with revision; yet we must reject them, often reluctantly and certainly "without prejudice": space may be short and a balance among fields or subjects must be attained; some useful and stimulating essays may not yet have been worked through to the level of sophistication or authority expected in the *AHR*; most commonly such rejections will follow because, for reasons indicated above, the articles appear better suited to other, more specialized periodicals. Still the editors are happy to see these articles: on their merits, they deserve reading, careful criticism, comment, and suggestion; they may well identify talented historians and point the way to future collaboration with the *AHR*. But the majority of manuscripts submitted are from the outset in a far more dubious position. The board of editors hopes that this candid and specific statement of editorial policy will serve as a guide to authors in deciding where to send their manuscripts.

The *AHR* does not stand at the top of a pyramid of scholarly prestige, automatically to be tried first by an ambitious author before he moves on to a "lesser" journal. Rather, the *AHR*, with certain other general periodicals, has another purpose than the specialized journals, defined—in both a limiting and a liberating sense—by its readership. It is concerned with large, persistent themes and genuine, broadly interesting innovation; it is a vehicle for general scholarly communication or for specialized studies that transcend the normal boundaries or expectations of their fields. It therefore stands as testimony, however fragmented and isolated the various fields of history sometimes seem, to the essential unity of the profession.

# Booker T. Washington in Biographical Perspective

LOUIS R. HARLAN

IN the current vogue of black history Booker T. Washington has been a figure to ignore rather than to grapple with, an anomaly, an embarrassment. This is partly because his methods were too compromising and unheroic to win him a place in the black pantheon, but it is also because he was so complex and enigmatic that historians do not know what to make of him. We have lost the thread we used to believe would guide us through his labyrinth. When his rich private collection of papers was opened to scholars two decades ago, historians had to abandon the simpler picture of Washington presented in his autobiography. They generally seized upon the concept that Washington was a symbol of his age in race relations, a representative figure whose actions and philosophy were pragmatically adjusted to the demands of an era of sharply worsening race relations. He was the type of Negro leader that the age of Jim Crow would throw to the top. There is something to be said for this view, and certainly Washington was delicately attuned to his age. From the biographical perspective, however, Washington seems thoroughly consistent throughout a life that spanned from the slavery era into the twentieth century. In the period of his leadership after 1895 he followed the lessons he had learned at Hampton Institute in the seventies and practiced at Tuskegee in the eighties.

In his mature years Washington's life became extremely complex. There was first of all the public image, that of a race leader who told his people to accommodate themselves to the realities of white power, and whose own personal success illustrated that such a course could be personally rewarding. In the Atlanta Address in 1895, the year the old militant leader Frederick Douglass died, Washington stated the formula: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Put down your buckets where they are, make peace and common cause with your white neighbor, seek a white patron, but also improve yourself slowly through education and property, through "severe and constant struggle rather than . . . artificial forcing."<sup>1</sup> A few years later Washington's success story, *Up from Slavery*, a worldwide best seller, further buttressed the accommodation

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<sup>1</sup> "The Atlanta Exposition Address," Sept. 18, 1895, in Booker T. Washington (hereafter BTW), *Up from Slavery* (Bantam ed., New York, 1963), 153-58.



formula. It described, somewhat mythically, his rise from a slave cabin to the middle class, the inculcation at Hampton Institute of Puritan virtues, and their practice through a useful and successful life. It was a comforting witness that even the American race system could not keep a good man down. Tuskegee Institute, which he founded in a Negro church and a henhouse and built into one of the largest and best-endowed schools in the South, was a monument to the effectiveness of his approach.

Though Washington never made another speech of the significance of the Atlanta Address nor wrote another book equal to *Up from Slavery*, he remained throughout his life a popular platform speaker and magazine article writer. He expressed what John Kenneth Galbraith calls "the conventional wisdom" of his day in race relations and social thought. He was the apostle of things as they were. He had to employ a series of ghost writers to meet the demand for books and articles. Unfortunately, however, under his instructions the ghost writers merely paraphrased Washington's earlier utterances, thus freezing his public thought in outmoded patterns. His mind as revealed in formal public expression became a bag of clichés.

Washington's mind or psyche as the directing force of his private actions, on the other hand, was kaleidoscopic in its changing patterns and apparent lack of a central design. The source of this complexity, no doubt, was being a black man in white America, with the attendant dualism and ambivalence that black people feel. Washington's life and thought were layered into public, private, and secret and also segmented according to which subgroup of black or white he confronted. For each group he played a different role, wore a different mask. Like the proverbial cat, Washington lived nine lives, but he lived them all at once. Yet there were so few slips of the mask that it is no wonder his intimates called him "the wizard."

One of Washington's private roles was that of master of the Tuskegee plantation. From his big house, "The Oaks," Washington ran his school without delegation of authority and with infinite attention to detail. Even during his absences in the North, he continued to direct affairs closely through the confidential reports of his brother, private secretary, and other informers. He saw the sparrow's fall. Faculty members dreaded the crunch of carriage wheels that signaled his return, for each morning he toured the campus on horseback and noted every scrap of trash, every stray chicken, every dirty plate, every evidence of student waste or neglect. It all went into his little red notebook,<sup>2</sup> from which flowed a thousand memoranda reminding errant faculty members of their high duty to make of Tuskegee a black utopia, a proof that Negroes were capable of the petit bourgeois life.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the red notebook of 1887, Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Container 949 (hereafter these papers will be cited as BTW Papers, LC, with container number in parentheses).

In the radically different world of the white philanthropists Washington showed his appealing mask, deferential but dignified. At first, following the example of Hampton Institute, he made Boston his Northern headquarters and the church and Sunday-school philanthropy of New England small towns his principal philanthropic target. At the turn of the century, however, he began spending his winters and summers in New York, center of the new wealth of industry and finance. Showing that there can be a subtlety even in platitudes, Washington gradually modified his rhetoric from the style of Puritan homiletics to that of the "gospel of wealth." His principal appeal to businessmen, however, was that he seemed so much like them, not only in his attitude toward labor, property, public order, and other questions but in the earnestness, diligence, and energy with which he conducted his school. What struck Andrew Carnegie, when he gave Tuskegee a library, was Washington's ability, through the cheap labor of students, to get so much building for so little money. He was a safe, sane, self-made man who could be trusted with one's money. Moving freely in the offices, homes, and summer resorts of the wealthy, Washington constantly crossed the color line in the North, riding first-class cars and staying at first-class hotels. Though he had dinner at the White House only once, that was no measure of his dining habits among the Northern elite, who accepted him on perhaps more completely equal terms than any other black American in history.

Among Southern whites Washington was more circumspect. He made a point of not crossing the color line while in the South. He sought to reduce social friction by what Southerners called keeping his place. Washington divided white Southerners into two classes: employers who were the benefactors of Negroes and fit allies of Northern philanthropists, and poor whites, who were enemies of the black people and of a harmonious social order. Washington's strategy of partnership with the Southern white elite was notably unsuccessful in halting the tide of white racial aggression, violence, disfranchisement, discrimination, and segregation in his day. The white planters and businessmen turned out to be not as benevolent as expected and nowhere near as powerful, and the Southern political system and to some extent its economy fell into the hands of whites in whose lives of hardship and disappointment in a depressed Southern economy the Negro served as a convenient scapegoat. Washington refused to face this worsening of race relations realistically, refused to doubt the viability of his Atlanta Compromise. In 1908, after a tour of Mississippi, then in the throes of Vardaman's demagoguery, he wrote to Oswald Garrison Villard: "I was surprised to find a large number of white men and women who, close down in their hearts, I am sure are all right, but only need encouragement and help to lead them to the point where they will speak out and act more bravely." When a white mob at Lula, Mississippi, hanged two Negroes where Washington could see them as his train passed, he assured Villard that this episode was not sig-

nificant "outside of the ordinary disgraceful lynchings that so frequently occur in that state."<sup>3</sup>

Among Southern blacks Washington presented a fatherly image. He was of the same rural Southern peasant origins and could speak to them in their own language. They responded also to the peasant conservatism of his economic program, with its emphasis on the basic needs of a rural people—small property accumulation, education of a practical sort, recognition of the dignity of toil, doing the common, everyday things of life "uncommonly without a murmur." Washington conceived of Tuskegee as "a school built around a social problem." He thought that all his compromises would be justified if his industrial school, located like a settlement house in the middle of a rural slum, could transform the lives of the black sharecroppers of Macon County, Alabama, and the surrounding Black Belt. So he not only trained teachers and skilled farmers and tradesmen to return to these communities, but he offered them schemes to improve their lives. The Jesup Wagon, an agricultural classroom on wheels, toured the back roads; an annual Negro Conference brought farmers from Alabama and neighboring states for lessons in scientific agriculture and the economics of land-ownership. Tuskegee managed several loan funds to aid local farmers to buy their land.<sup>4</sup> It is easy to see now that Washington's plan for economic progress was bound to fail because he sought to build through small business institutions in a day when big business was sweeping all before it. Worse yet, it was in agriculture, the sickest industry in America, and in the South, the nation's sickest region, and in certain obsolescent trades such as blacksmithing that Washington sought to work his economic wonders. All that was less clear in his day, however, and besides he had an emotional commitment to "keep them down on the farm," for he hated and feared the city.

Despite his Southern rural distrust of the city and particularly the Negro intellectuals and professional men of the Northern cities, Washington used the power that white approval and financing gave him to dominate also the Northern black ghetto-dwellers. As August Meier has shown so convincingly, he even bound a large segment of the "talented tenth," the professional-class elite, to him by patronage and mutual interest rather than common ideology.<sup>5</sup> He was the founder and president of the National Negro Business League, an organization he shrewdly used to create a nucleus of conservative blacks in all the Northern cities. He could not completely control Negro journalistic expression, but he did dominate it by a combination of ownership of some newspapers and advertising subsidies to others, and by paying a Negro syndicated columnist to follow the

<sup>3</sup> BTW to Oswald Garrison Villard, Oct. 30, 1908, BTW Papers, LC (42).

<sup>4</sup> These included the Dizer, Cockran, and Milholland Funds, the Southern Improvement Company, and Baldwin Farms.

<sup>5</sup> See particularly the chapter "Booker T. Washington and the 'Talented Tenth,'" in August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor, 1963), 207-47.

Tuskegee line. Black professors were kept under control by college presidents who recognized that Washington could reward or punish them when philanthropists asked his advice. His smile or frown could govern the fate of a college library, and he personally dispensed much of the Negro philanthropy of Carnegie, Schiff, and Rosenwald. His white friends patronized the black painters, singers, and writers whom he favored. His friends infiltrated the leading black church denominations and even the Negro Odd Fellows and Prince Hall Masons in his interest. In all the activity of this Tuskegee Machine was a determination to crush rash militants who were more and more openly denouncing him as a traitor to his race.

Despite his public advice to Negroes to abandon voting and officeholding as a solution of their problems, Washington became the leading Negro political broker in the era of Theodore Roosevelt and Taft. The constituency of black politicians was dissolving in those years because of disfranchisement in the South, while the Northern ghetto populations were still too small to have much political weight. The trend in Negro patronage positions, therefore, was downward, and Washington could do little to reverse its course. He simply secured places for his friends, particularly Negro businessmen in the South and well-trained lawyers in the North. He also helped Roosevelt pick white Southerners as judges, revenue collectors, and marshals who gave evidence of conservatism and a paternalistic sympathy for Negroes. Washington used his position as a Negro political boss to try to curb the lily-white Republican movement in the South, to moderate the Republican platforms and presidential utterances on racial matters, and to dampen Negro protest against the wholesale dismissal of Negro troops accused of rioting in Brownsville, Texas, in 1906. Although Washington supported Taft in 1908, he was subsequently dismayed by the president's rapid removal of nearly all Southern Negro officeholders. The Wilson administration continued this trend and increased segregation in the federal civil service. By the end of his life Boss Washington's political machine was in a state of nearly complete breakdown.

Finally, Washington had an elaborate secret life. In his civil rights activity he presented himself publicly as a social pacifist and accommodationist, while secretly he financed and generated a series of court suits challenging the grandfather clause, denial of jury service to Negroes, Jim Crow cars, and peonage. Working sometimes with the Negro lawyers of the Afro-American Council, sometimes through his own personal lawyer Wilford H. Smith, and sometimes with sympathetic Southern white lawyers, Washington took every precaution to keep his collaboration a secret. He used his private secretary and a Tuskegee faculty member as go-betweens, and in the Alabama suffrage cases that were carried to the United States Supreme Court he had his secretary and the lawyer correspond using the code names R. C. Black and J. C. May.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-18.

It cannot be said that Washington's secret militancy had much effect against the downtrend of race relations. Another secret activity, however, that of espionage against his Negro enemies, sometimes had devastating effect. When the Boston black radical William Monroe Trotter began openly to denounce Washington and created a disturbance known as the Boston Riot, Washington employed a spy named Melvin J. Chisum to infiltrate Trotter's New England Suffrage League. Chisum acted as a provocateur and informed Washington of secret meetings so that Washington could counter their strategy. Washington also planted a Boston lawyer, Clifford Plummer, in the Trotter organization and arranged with a Yale student to sue Trotter's paper for libel. When W. E. B. Du Bois and some thirty of his friends met at Niagara Falls in 1905 to found the Niagara Movement, Washington paid Plummer to go there and spy on the meeting and to stop the Associated Press from giving it publicity. The following year Washington used a distinguished old Negro, who hoped Washington would help him regain his political appointment, to infiltrate the Niagara Movement at Harper's Ferry. Washington had many other agents, including Pinkerton detectives and paid and unpaid Negro informers. Melvin Chisum worked for years as Booker Washington's spy in New York and Washington, infiltrating the Niagara Movement and the NAACP, holding meetings with Washington on park benches to disclose his findings, and obviously enjoying his work. "I am your obedient humble servant, Chisum," he roguishly ended one letter, "your own property, to use as your Eminence desires, absolutely."<sup>7</sup>

In each of these compartmentalized worlds Washington displayed a different personality, wore a different mask, played a different role. At Tuskegee he was a benevolent despot. To Northern whites he appeared a racial statesman; to Southern whites he was a safe, sane Negro who advised blacks to "stay in their place." To Southern Negroes he was a father, to Northern blacks a stepfather; to politicians he was another political boss. In his paradoxical secret life he attacked the racial settlement that he publicly accepted, and he used ruthless methods of espionage and sabotage that contrasted sharply with his public Sunday-school morality.

Perhaps psychoanalysis or role psychology would solve Washington's behavioral riddle, if we could only put him on the couch. If we could remove those layers of secrecy as one peels an onion, perhaps at the center of Booker T. Washington's being would be revealed a person single-mindedly concerned with power, a minotaur, a lion, fox, or Br'er Rabbit, some frightened little man like the Wizard of Oz, or, as in the case of the onion, nothing, a personality disintegrated by the frenzied activity of being all things to all men in a multifaceted society. He "jumped Jim Crow" so often that he lost sight of the original purposes of his motion.

<sup>7</sup> See the author's forthcoming article, "The Secret Life of Booker T. Washington," in *Journal of Southern History*.

It is possible to explain many of the seeming contradictions in Washington's mature life by examining his biography. A biographical approach may counter-balance a slight distortion introduced by the historical approach. Historians have tended to see Washington's accommodationist behavior as of its time, that is, of the period of his leadership after 1895, and as a deliberate, realistic, pragmatic response to the black man's "time of troubles." While C. Vann Woodward, for example, recognizes that Washington "dealt with the present in terms of the past," he says that "it is indeed hard to see how he could have preached or his people practiced a radically different philosophy in his time and place."<sup>8</sup> The biographical evidence, on the other hand, shows that all the hallmarks of Washington's style of leadership—his conservative petit bourgeois social philosophy, his accommodation to white supremacy and segregation, and his employment of secret weapons against his adversaries—were well developed prior to the 1890's. They were a response to precepts and pressures of the 1870's and 1880's. These decades turn out on close examination to have been not as different from the period after 1890 as some historians have assumed. Perhaps we have too sharply periodized the history of American race relations and have exaggerated the differences between one decade and another. This is not to say that the Progressive era was not characterized by racial violence, disfranchisement, and segregation, but so were the seventies, the age of the Ku Klux Klan and the abandonment of Reconstruction, and the eighties, the era of reversal of civil rights legislation.

Knowledge of Washington's early life is based primarily on his two autobiographies. *Up from Slavery* is more detailed and better written but distorted by its success-story formula. *The Story of My Life and Work*, written a year earlier primarily for the Negro subscription book market, reveals facets of his career ignored in *Up from Slavery*. These works are supplemented, however, by other contemporary evidence and the reminiscences of a number of close associates of Washington's youth.

Washington was born on a small Virginia farm, the child of a slave cook and a white man of the neighborhood. His birth occurred prior to his mother's marriage to Washington Ferguson, the slave of a neighboring farmer, and prior to the birth of the darker half-sister Amanda. It was a common pattern of slavery that house servants, because of higher status, lighter work load, closeness to the master class, and, sometimes, lighter color often identified themselves in attitude as well as mutual interest with the master and his family. They learned by daily study to interpret and respond to the whims and desires of the white owners. Because he had the softer life and better food of a house servant's child, because he was only five when his master died and only nine when he was freed, because he lived on a small farm instead of a large plantation, Washington never experienced slavery in its harshest forms. He later recalled his horror at seeing a

<sup>8</sup> C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 367.



grown man whipped for a minor infraction, but he also recalled "Christmas Days in Old Virginia" with a curious sentimentality, telling how grown slaves hung their stockings on Christmas Eve on the mantel of the master's or mistress' bedroom, and came in next morning shouting "Christmas gift," singing, and bearing the Yule log.<sup>9</sup> One day in 1909, while speaking to the Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria, Washington saw in the audience the grandson of his former owner and recalled:

He and I played together as children, fought and wept, laughed and sobbed together. He was the white boy, I was the black boy, on that old plantation.

He liked me then and he likes me yet. I liked him then and I like him now. But until this week I have not met Abe Burroughs since one day away back in 1863 it came to my frightened ears that old "Massa" Burroughs, his grandfather and my owner, had been killed.

There was a skirmish and the Federal troops, I was told, had shot him. I was frightened. I rushed home and told Abe and he and I cried together. Our hearts were broken. That is a long while ago.<sup>10</sup>

Washington probably exaggerated the hardness of his early life for purposes of contrast in conformity with a literary convention of the success-story genre. He recalled in *Up from Slavery* the hard physical work of the salt furnace and coal mine, and he rejected both the work and the exploitative black stepfather who forced him into it, probably within a few months of his arrival in the little West Virginia town of Malden. He moved out of the home occupied by his mother, stepfather, half-brother, and half-sister. He moved into the mansion of General Lewis Ruffner, the leading citizen of the village and perhaps its richest man. "Booker Washington came to me about 1865 as servant," the general's wife Viola later recalled, "and as there was little for him to do, he had much spare time which I proposed he should use by learning to read, which he readily accepted." If Mrs. Ruffner was a godsend to Booker Washington, so was he to her. A Yankee schoolteacher who had married the widowed general after teaching his younger children, Mrs. Ruffner was ostracized by the general's family because of her alien background and sharp tongue, and she threw all the frustrated energies of a New England do-gooder into the training of Booker Washington. She as well as he later recalled his strenuous efforts to meet her exacting demands. "I would help and direct, and he was more than willing to follow direction," she remembered. "There was nothing peculiar in his habits, except that he was always in his place and never known to do anything out of the way, which I think has been his course all thru life. His conduct has always been without fault, and what more can we wish?" And yet there was something more. "He was ever restless, uneasy, as if knowing that contentment would mean inaction. 'Am I getting on?'"—that was his principal question."<sup>11</sup> A neighbor sim-

<sup>9</sup> BTW, "Christmas Days in Old Virginia," *Suburban Life*, V (1907), 336-37.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in *New York Age*, Feb. 18, 1909, BTW Papers, LC, clipping (1052). James Burroughs actually died of "lung disease" in 1861, but several of his sons died in Confederate service.

<sup>11</sup> See letters of William Henry Ruffner to his wife written in 1865-66 from the home of his uncle Lewis Ruffner, in Ruffner Family Papers, Presbyterian Historical Foundation, Montreat, N. C.;



ilarly recalled: "The reported hard times that he underwent, never really occurred. He lived a thoroughly easy life with General Ruffner."<sup>12</sup>

The general himself was a prototype of those Southerners "of the better class" whom Washington later sought as allies. Of a distinguished Virginia family that owned the Luray Caverns and pioneered in the salt industry of West Virginia, General Ruffner had owned slaves and worked them in his mines and furnaces but believed slavery retarded Southern economic growth and therefore opposed it. He supported the Union and the new state of West Virginia and became a militia general and Republican leader. One day the young houseboy Booker witnessed a riot that dramatized the struggles of race and class with which he would have to live for the rest of his life. A group of whites, largely of the working class, began meeting in the hills at night and called themselves Gideon's Band or the Ku Klux Klan. One day General Ruffner heard the shots of a melee between the Klansmen and the black workers of Malden. The Klansmen were trying to prevent the blacks from testifying about the Klan's activities. Running past the blacks, the general shouted, "Put down that revolver you scoundrel," and was obeyed. When he moved on to reason with the whites, however, a brick one of them had hurled hit him on the back of the head. Relatives dragged the general away unconscious as the battle resumed, and the old man never completely recovered. "It seemed to me as I watched this struggle between members of the two races that there was no hope for our people in this country," Washington later recalled.<sup>13</sup> That there were dangers in transgressing white racial codes was certainly one of the lessons of this incident, but another was that the white paternalist was the black man's only friend, albeit never a perfect one and in this case an ineffectual one.

Not many black boys had an early life as full of generals as Booker T. Washington. He found his beau ideal in General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the principal of Hampton Institute in Virginia, the Christian soldier, the great white father for whom Washington had long been searching. He began to model his own conduct and thought on Armstrong's. Washington described him as "the most perfect specimen of man, physically, mentally and spiritually" that he had ever seen, and he considered the best part of his education to have been the privilege of being permitted to look upon General Armstrong each day.<sup>14</sup> The gen-

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Viola Ruffner to Gilson Willetts, May 29, 1899, in Willetts, "Slave Boy and Leader of His Race," *The New Voice*, XVI (June 24, 1899), 3. It was actually in 1867 or later, rather than in 1865, that Washington became the Ruffners' houseboy.

<sup>12</sup> William A. MacCorkle, *Recollections of Fifty Years* (New York, 1928), 569. A Democratic governor of West Virginia, MacCorkle knew Washington well in his mature years.

<sup>13</sup> Charleston *West Virginia Journal*, Dec. 15, 22, 1869, Mar. 30, 1870; BTW, *Up from Slavery*, 54-55. Washington concluded, from the perspective of 1900: "There are few places in the South now where public sentiment would permit such organizations to exist."

<sup>14</sup> BTW, *Up from Slavery*, 37-40; BTW, *The Story of My Life and Work* (rev. ed., Naperville, Ill., 1915), 41-42. BTW said of Armstrong: "I shall always remember that the first time I went into his presence he made the impression upon me of being a perfect man: I was made to feel that there was something about him that was superhuman." *Up from Slavery*, 37.

eral was the child of missionaries in Hawaii, a graduate of the Williams College of Mark Hopkins, and a commander of black troops in the Civil War. One of the war's youngest generals, Armstrong had a quick, nervous, but unhesitating manner, what might appropriately be called a commanding presence; he was the very model of a modern major general. Washington had the opportunity of observing the general closely, for throughout the black youth's three years at Hampton he was janitor in the academic building. Close to the general and the white teachers, picking up all they had to teach, he impressed them as ingratiating, ambitious, and quick to learn.

It was from Hampton and General Armstrong that Washington borrowed what became known in his day as "the Tuskegee idea." Armstrong seems sincerely to have believed that the Polynesians among whom he had grown up and the Negroes and Indians at Hampton were lower on the evolutionary scale than the white race, not so much inferior as "backward."<sup>15</sup> They were children who must crawl before they could walk, must be trained before they could be educated. Their moral training was much more important than their intellectual instruction, for it was only after the backward people, as individuals and races, put away childish things, stilled their dark laughter, and learned self-discipline through the imposition of the morning inspection and close-order drill that they would be ready for higher things. Armstrong would not discourage a bright young man from higher education, but he believed that the black race should abstain from politics and civil rights agitation until industrial education should have done its work. Industrial education as Armstrong conceived it was not so much technical as moral, a training in industriousness, abstinence, thrift, in short, the Protestant ethic, the virtues that helped a man get ahead, mankind progress, and the world turn. The bluff General Armstrong was unaware of the cultural and racial arrogance of his faith and program. He was benevolent and earnest, toiling all his life amid the alien corn, a missionary to the benighted blacks. He slept well because his soul was daily cleansed by good works.<sup>16</sup> The contradictions and inner tensions came when one of his black pupils, Booker T. Washington, eager to please and eager to learn all that it took to be a General Armstrong, incorporated not only the method but the rationale and values of this benevolent white racist, and then went forth to preach the gospel of industrial education.

It would be difficult to find in Booker T. Washington's own writings a better statement of his philosophy than the following advice of General Armstrong to Southern black people:

<sup>15</sup> Samuel C. Armstrong, "Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands," *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, III (1884), 200-29.

<sup>16</sup> On Armstrong's thought and attitudes, see Suzanne Carson [Lowitt], "Samuel Chapman Armstrong: Missionary to the South," Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1952; Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*, 88-90, 95-99; Samuel C. Armstrong, *Armstrong's Ideas on Education for Life* (Hampton, Va., 1940); Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong* (New York, 1904).

Be thrifty and industrious. Command the respect of your neighbors by a good record and a good character. Own your own houses. Educate your children. Make the best of your difficulties. Live down prejudice. Cultivate peaceful relations with all. As a voter act as you think and not as you are told. Remember that you have seen marvellous changes in sixteen years. In view of that be patient—thank God and take courage.<sup>17</sup>

General Armstrong's conservative influence on Washington extended far beyond these conventional homilies, however. When the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was passed, for example, the school's magazine, the *Southern Workman*, repeatedly warned blacks "to raise no needless and ill-considered issue under the present law," to use integrated facilities only when none were provided for black people separately.<sup>18</sup> Armstrong openly endorsed the Compromise of 1877 by which Reconstruction was ended, accommodated his school to the new Southern conservative regime, and urged Negroes to do the same.<sup>19</sup> Washington along with the other readers of the *Southern Workman* were told not only that the requisites of a gentleman's dress were "cleanliness, quiet colors, and well brushed boots," they were also told that labor unions were conspiracies to defy the laws of economics and get something for nothing.<sup>20</sup> As for federal aid to education in the Blair Bill, Armstrong thought its "fatal error" was that "it is opposed to the doctrine of self-help."<sup>21</sup>

In the graduation exercises of 1875, Washington took the negative in a debate on the annexation of Cuba. It may have been merely accidental that Washington had the conservative role in the debate, but his skill at presenting that side and the warm response from his audience prefigured his later career. His arguments were so terse and vigorous that he carried with him the whole audience, white and black. He argued that Spain had a right to Cuba by discovery and colonization, that the United States should wait until the Cubans were more capable of self-government, that annexation would flood the country with ignorance and crime, that it would increase the power of the Roman Catholic Church, "already so degrading to the great masses of white voters." This sentiment was roundly applauded. "As to helping their ignorance, we have enough of that article already," he said. "Wouldn't it be wise, before we risk a war for Cuba, to redeem ourselves from the meshes of the last war?"<sup>22</sup>

To what extent did Booker T. Washington, Armstrong's aptest pupil, Hampton's most distinguished son, internalize the teachings, values, and example of his master, his teacher? "I require all to keep their clothes neat and clean, and

<sup>17</sup> *Southern Workman*, VI (1877), 10, editorial presumably written by Armstrong.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, IV (1875), 26, 43.

<sup>19</sup> Sir George Campbell, *White and Black: The Outcome of a Visit to the United States* (New York, 1879), 277.

<sup>20</sup> *Southern Workman*, IV (1875), 26, 43; series of articles by T. T. Bryce, "Labor," *ibid.*, VII (1878), 76-78, "Capital," *ibid.*, 85, "Strikes and Lockouts," *ibid.*, IX (1880), 57. Bryce was a Hampton Institute faculty member who employed hundreds in his private oyster cannery.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Daniel W. Crofts, "The Blair Bill and the Elections Bill: The Congressional Aftermath to Reconstruction," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1968, p. 150.

<sup>22</sup> Reports of Hampton Institute commencement in *New York Times*, June 15, 1875; *Springfield Daily Republican*, June 26, 1875; *Southern Workman*, IV (1875), 50-51.

their hair combed every morning, and the boys to keep their boots cleaned," he reported back to Hampton from his first teaching position. "To see that this is done I have a morning inspection, as we did at Hampton." He also began military drill for the boys, marching them up and down the surrounding hills to his shrill "hip! hip! hip!"<sup>23</sup>

"Can we not improve?" Washington asked in a letter to a newspaper in 1877, "I mean the colored people, for I am a colored man myself, or rather a boy." (He was then twenty-one.) He found some things to praise in their first decade of freedom, but the time was coming when bondage could no longer be an excuse for ignorance. Parents should prepare their children by education for the duties of citizenship, but above all Negroes should improve their use of leisure time. "I think there are many who, if they would count up the time spent by them in vain and idle street talk, would find it to amount to hours and days enough in which they might have obtained for themselves a valuable and respectable education," he said.<sup>24</sup>

When Washington was invited back to Hampton to give the postgraduate commencement address in 1878, he entitled it "The Force That Wins." He referred to a "tide in the affairs of men" and announced that the key to success was "not in planning but in *doing*."<sup>25</sup> His reward was a teaching position at Hampton, first with the night school students whom he called "The Plucky Class" and then as supervisor of the dormitory for Indian boys, "The Wigwam." The reasoning behind this apparently was that Indians would learn better the white man's values and style of life from a black man who had internalized them. Washington taught them how to make their beds, exhorted them to learn how to farm, and carefully observed the extent of their "enlightenment." For almost a year he wrote a monthly column in the *Southern Workman* on the Indians. In studying the five races of mankind they had to be told that they were the red men, but when reciting the "four conditions of mankind," Washington could hear their subdued whispers, "We savages, we savages."<sup>26</sup>

When Washington established his own school in 1881 in Alabama, he deliberately followed the Hampton model not only in educational philosophy and industrial features but in accommodation to the conditions of Southern life. Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., has pointed out that in his first major national speech, before the National Education Association at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1884, Washington clearly foreshadowed the Atlanta Compromise address in all of its

<sup>23</sup> Letter of "W" in *Southern Workman*, VII (1878), 52; Max B. Thrasher, *Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work* (Boston, 1900), 19.

<sup>24</sup> Letter of "B. T. W." to the editors of Charleston *West Virginia Journal*, reprinted in *Southern Workman*, VI (1877), 62.

<sup>25</sup> Nathalie Lord, "Booker Washington's School Days at Hampton," *Southern Workman*, XXXI (1902), 258.

<sup>26</sup> BTW, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," *ibid.*, X (1881), 43. This was one in a series of articles of the same title.

major elements.<sup>27</sup> He was so complimentary of the local white people that a member of the audience, a white woman teacher in a Tuskegee female seminary, wrote a glowing report of it back to her girls. "He represented things as they are at the South, and said some nice things of the Tuskegee citizens," she said.<sup>28</sup> The Civil Rights Act of 1875 had been declared unconstitutional only a year before Washington's speech, but he took the complacent view that good schoolteachers and money to pay them "will be more potent in settling the race question than many civil rights bills." "Brains, property, and character" were the forces that would win, he said. At the bottom of everything "for our race, as for all races, an economic foundation, economic prosperity, economic independence."<sup>29</sup>

That nothing could shake this faith was illustrated in 1885, when a wedding party of Tuskegee teachers of "brains, property, and character" tried to ride a first-class railroad car through Alabama. They were insulted, physically assaulted, and twice forced into the Jim Crow car. Finally they were ejected from the train in a small town where they were arrested and fined. They completed their journey on horseback.<sup>30</sup> Washington wrote a letter of protest to the state's leading newspaper, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, but his first sentences were: "I wish to say a few words from a purely business standpoint. It is not a subject with which to mix social equality or anything bordering on it. To the negro it is a matter of dollars and cents." Washington's complaint was not against separation itself but against the crowded, old, uncarpeted cars, in which drunken or slovenly whites felt free to slouch when ostracized from the white first-class cars. If railroad officials did not want blacks in the first-class cars occupied by whites, said Washington, "let them give us a separate one just as good in every particular and just as exclusive, and there will be no complaint." "If the railroads will not give us first-class accommodations," he added, "let them sell us tickets at reduced rates." He expressed doubt that national legislation or outside attempts would succeed and agreed to wait with "a wise patience" for an equitable adjustment from within the South that would end what he called "these jars in our business relations." He concluded the letter with a remarkable anticipation of the Atlanta Address: "We can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand for maintaining the right."<sup>31</sup>

Acquiescence in segregation was, then, one of the prices Washington believed he had to pay for peace with his white neighbors, in 1885 as in 1895. Another concession was a rather sweeping abandonment of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech. On at least three occasions white opinion in Tuskegee became inflamed by the speeches or writings of those whom the local newspaper called

<sup>27</sup> Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life* (Boston, 1955), 91-94; reprint of speech in *Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington*, ed. E. Davidson Washington (New York, 1932), 1-11.

<sup>28</sup> "M. A. O.," letter in *Tuskegee Macon Mail*, July 23, 1884.

<sup>29</sup> *Selected Speeches*, ed. Washington, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Samuel E. Courtney, interview, *Boston Journal*, Mar. 29, 1896, BTW Papers, LC, clipping (6).

<sup>31</sup> Letter in *Montgomery Advertiser*, Apr. 30, 1885.

the "dusky Romeos" at the normal school. In 1885 a speech by a Tuskegee graduate was "misunderstood by the whites who heard it."<sup>32</sup> In 1887 Hiram H. Thweatt, a graduate, published in his newspaper, *The Black Belt*, what were alleged to be "incendiary articles against the white race." Booker Washington, "seeing the natural results that would follow from his unwise course, requested Thweatt, so rumor has it, to suspend publication, which he had the good sense to do," said a white reporter. "Washington is a sensible negro," he added, "averse to any intrusion upon our social welfare, and emanations of an agitating character from these senseless babblers, will meet his condemnation."<sup>33</sup> A year later George W. Lovejoy, a young employee and graduate, wrote an indiscreet letter during Washington's absence to a Mississippi Negro paper saying that the recent effort of a mob to take a Negro from the county jail was proof that the white people of Macon County had "caught the spirit of the lynch-law." Readers of the usually drab *Tuskegee News* were startled to read the following headline: "Lying Lovejoy is His Name, Of Ginger Cake Color, The Third Dusky Romeo Turned Out to Roam From the Tuskegee Normal School That Has Ventilated his Spleen and Hate of the White Race. Is it the Purpose of the School to Breed Such Whelps?" The newspaper warned him to leave town as the other two had done. The Tuskegee teachers hastily sent one of their number to say that they "rebuked Lovejoy for his folly and advised him to leave the school." On his return to the school Washington sent a card to the newspaper. "It has always been and is now the policy of the Normal School to remain free from politics and the discussion of race questions that tend to stir up strife between the races, and whenever this policy is violated it is done without the approbation of those in charge of the school." Washington reminded the critics that among three or four hundred students and teachers over a seven-year period there had not been "a half dozen acts performed or utterances made at which any one took offense."<sup>34</sup>

All through the eighties, both locally and regionally, Washington made common cause with the Southern conservative establishment. He exchanged letters with Henry Grady, the principal spokesman of the New South, in which they agreed that "there need be no hostility between the white and the colored people in the South," their interests being "identical."<sup>35</sup> In his solicitation for funds in the North, he carried letters of endorsement from a succession of Alabama governors and superintendents of education, and he seems to have mesmerized the local bankers, businessmen, and planters, for whom Tuskegee Institute was both an economic stimulant and a social tranquilizer. Local white approval con-

<sup>32</sup> BTW to J. F. B. Marshall, Dec. 22, 1885, BTW Papers, LC (91).

<sup>33</sup> *Tuskegee Special*, *Montgomery Advertiser*, Aug. 21, 1887.

<sup>34</sup> *Tuskegee News*, Aug. 2, 1888; *Montgomery Advertiser*, Aug. 4, 1888; BTW to the editor, and editorial, *Tuskegee News*, Aug. 16, 1888; George W. Lovejoy to BTW from Olustee Creek Post Office, Ala., Aug. 12, 1888, BTW Papers, LC (89).

<sup>35</sup> Henry W. Grady to BTW, Jan. 10, 1887, in *Montgomery Advertiser*, Jan. 15, 1887.



stantly soothed him like a balm, and when he said, as he frequently did, that the race problem had been solved in the city of Tuskegee, he generalized from his own experience. He was "one of the best men in the United States," said a visiting legislator. "His influences have all been for the best interest of his own race," said the *Montgomery Advertiser*, "and for peace and good feeling between the whites and blacks."<sup>36</sup> It was not merely that Washington was circumspect, that the mask he turned to Southern whites was a mirror. In many cases Washington not only seemed to agree with those whites who were moderate in their racial views and conservative in their economic views, he actually did agree with them, and they correctly sensed his response.

Washington was a circumspect man, however, full of covert goals and secret devices that would not bear the light of day. Just how far back in his life this habit of secrecy went it is impossible to say, perhaps back to the days of slavery and the saving art of fooling the master, perhaps back to the inevitable deceptions of the house servant. We can be sure, however, that the practice of secrecy was fully developed in Booker T. Washington in the 1880's, when he carried on an elaborate clandestine intrigue against another Negro school. In 1887, after a student riot between the white Marion Institute cadets and State Colored University students, the president of the latter asked the state to move his school to another city. Montgomery, only forty miles from Tuskegee, was the probable new site, and a move there would threaten an important source of Tuskegee students. Washington tried to prevent this in an astonishing variety of ways. He secretly encouraged a Marion Negro grocer to try to keep the school in Marion and asked a Negro doctor friend in Montgomery to pretend to be friendly to the move only to spy on the enemy's councils. He secured the confidential support of a Negro editor in Montgomery, who subsequently complained to Washington that he was being accused of being "bought off" by Washington. He sent a Tuskegee faculty member to prevent the Negro Baptist state convention and the state Labor party convention from endorsing the Montgomery site. He paid a Tuskegee white lawyer to lobby against Montgomery with the legislature, governor, and superintendent of education, and to go to Birmingham to persuade both whites and Negroes there to invite the school to their town. Washington also secretly paid the state's leading Negro radical, William J. Stevens of Selma, to seek to secure the school for his town, a safe distance to the west of Montgomery. Stevens was the leader of the "Black and Tan" faction that allied with the white Greenbackers, Independents, and Labor party members rather than with the Black Belt Conservatives. But he was at least as opportunistic as Washington. Stevens promised to "leave no stone unturned" and asked in return that Washington place "as liberal 'ad' as possible" in Stevens' paper, the *Selma Cyclone*. Washington suddenly panicked, however, at the thought that his secret bargain with Stevens might come to light and em-

<sup>36</sup> *Montgomery Advertiser*, Nov. 22, Dec. 13, 1890.



barrass his relations with white conservatives. "I have come to the conclusion that we had better have nothing more to do with him in this matter," he wrote privately to Tuskegee's treasurer. "I have just written him a letter asking him to do no more in our interest. Whether the school goes to Montgomery or elsewhere I intend to do nothing that I would be ashamed to have the public know about if necessary and this should be our rule in all actions."<sup>37</sup> The Montgomery school question was actually a tempest in a teapot. Despite all Washington's secret maneuvers the school moved to Montgomery, but it did no appreciable harm to Tuskegee's prosperity or standing. The significance of the episode is in what it reveals about Washington—the insecurity at the threat of even so petty a competitor, his employment of secret aggressive tactics, and the astonishing vigor and complexity of his countermoves.

There were other illustrations of Washington's secret forays and of his separate peace with the conservative white establishment, such as his sub rosa campaign among Negroes in the early nineties in behalf of Thomas G. Jones, who was running for governor against the quasi-Populist Reuben F. Kolb.<sup>38</sup> The clearest illustration of Washington's predicament as a Negro spokesman in the South occurred when, only a few months before the Atlanta Compromise, a wounded black militant, Thomas A. Harris, sought refuge on the Tuskegee campus from a lynch mob.

Tom Harris' problem stemmed from his decision in middle age to practice law in Tuskegee, a town that took pride in its toleration of black farmers, teachers, and businessmen but could not accept black lawyers or editors. Formerly a slave and a Confederate officer's body servant, during and after Reconstruction he was a Republican politician. The local white newspaper described him as "rather a seditious character," "a very ambitious and rather an idle negro man, extremely unpopular with his own race on account of his airs of superiority" and obnoxious to whites because of his "impudent utterances and insolent bearing." Booker T. Washington called him "worthless and very foolish." Yet he appeared before the Alabama bar in 1890 with testimonials to his character and probity from the leading conservative lawyers of Tuskegee, was admitted to the bar, practiced for a time in Birmingham, and then returned to Tuskegee.<sup>39</sup> He had

<sup>37</sup> Stephen Childs to BTW, Feb. 26, 1887 (85), Cornelius N. Dorsette to BTW, Jan. 11, 1887 (99), J. C. Duke to BTW, Jan. 20, 1887 (85), BTW to Warren Logan, July 15, 1887 (86), all in BTW Papers, LC; *Montgomery Advertiser*, Mar. 24, 1888; Warren Logan to BTW, May 3, 1887 (86), L. H. Watkins to BTW, May 14, 1887 (86), Arthur L. Brooks to BTW, June 14, 1887, and undated letter (85, 86), BTW to Logan, July 17, 1887 (86), Logan to BTW, July 20, 1887 (86), BTW to Logan, July 22, 1887 (86), William J. Stevens to BTW, May 18, 24, 1887 (86), all in BTW Papers, LC; J. K. Jackson to Stevens, May 16, 1887, Booker T. Washington Papers, Tuskegee Institute, Container 1 (hereafter these papers will be cited as BTW Papers, Tuskegee, with container number in parentheses); BTW to Warren Logan, June 15, 1887, BTW Papers, Tuskegee (1).

<sup>38</sup> Account of Washington's campaign for Jones, in Jacksonville (Fla.) *Citizen*, Apr. 22, 1897, BTW Papers, LC, clipping (1029).

<sup>39</sup> *Tuskegee News*, May 8, 1890, June 13, 1895; BTW to Rev. Francis J. Grimké, Nov. 27, 1895, Booker T. Washington Collection, Moorland Foundation, Howard University, Container 1 (hereafter this collection will be cited as BTW Collection, Howard, with container number in parentheses); *Montgomery Advertiser*, Apr. 30, May 13, 1890.

the temerity to entertain an itinerant white preacher in his home. A white mob forced the minister to leave and then sent a note to Harris giving him a deadline for leaving town.

By the time Harris received the note the deadline had already passed. As Harris crossed the street to ask his white neighbor's advice, the lynch mob came down the road with blazing torches. "There they are now, coming to kill me!" Harris shouted, entering John H. Alexander's front yard in an attempt to escape by running through the house and out the back door. Fearful for his daughters seated on the porch, Alexander wrestled with Harris at his front gate until the lynch mob arrived. As Harris frenziedly burst into the yard, one of the mob rushed behind him and in the light of the moon put his pistol within a foot of Harris and fired with intent to kill. The black man squatted in time to avert the shot, which struck Alexander in the throat and lodged in his spinal column. Other shots rang out, one wounding Harris in the leg as he ran down the road toward his own house. His leg bone shattered, Harris lay in the dirt road within a few feet of his gate, screaming for help. Several white physicians in the crowd rushed past the black man to render Alexander all the assistance in their power. Though first thought mortally wounded, he recovered after the lead ball was found and removed.

Since Tom Harris needed medical attention, his son Wiley brought him in the dead of night to Booker T. Washington's home, "where however he was not received," according to the local newspaper, "for Booker T. Washington . . . has ever conducted himself and his school in the most prudent manner, and learning that a mob was in pursuit of Harris he told him that he could not be admitted there."<sup>40</sup>

The report that Washington had turned away Harris pleased local whites but brought much criticism from the Negro press all over the country. In a debate on the Atlanta Compromise at the Bethel Literary and Historical Society in Washington, an important forum of black expression, the Harris affair was characterized as "hypocritical and showing the natural bent of the man." The house roared its approval when a speaker said: "Mr. Washington, the negro head of a negro institute refused a fellow negro admittance to his negro college, thereby denying the right of medical assistance."<sup>41</sup>

The Reverend Francis J. Grimké, pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, left the Bethel Literary meeting very disturbed at the conflict the incident created between his friendship for Washington and his commitment to Negro rights. Writing a letter of inquiry, he received from Washington a detailed explanation:

After the man was shot his son brought him to my house for help and advice, (and you can easily understand that the people in and about Tuskegee come to me for help

<sup>40</sup> *Tuskegee News*, June 13, 1895; *Birmingham Age-Herald*, June 10, 1895; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 11, 13, 1895.

<sup>41</sup> George W. Lovejoy to BTW, July 17, 1895, BTW Papers, LC (862); *Washington Bee*, Oct. 26, 1895.

and advice in all their troubles). I got out of bed and went out and explained to the man and his son that . . . I could not take the wounded man into the school and endanger the lives of students entrusted by their parents to my care to the fury of some drunken white men. Neither did I for the same reason feel that it was the right thing to take him into my own house. For as much as I love the colored people in that section, I can not feel that I am in duty bound to shelter them in all their personal troubles any more than you would feel called on to do the same thing in Washington.

Washington then told Grimké what he said he had told no one else:

I helped them to a place of safety and paid the money out of my own pocket for the comfort and treatment of the man while he was sick. Today I have no warmer friends than the man and his son. They have nothing but the warmest feelings of gratitude for me and are continually in one way or another expressing this feeling. I do not care to publish to the world what I do and should not mention this except for this false representation. I simply chose to help and relieve this man in my own way rather than in the way some man a thousand miles away would have had me do it.<sup>42</sup>

Washington was, of course, a genius at self-justification, but his other correspondence confirms his statements to Grimké. In September 1895, about ten days after the Atlanta Address, Tom Harris wrote him from Selma: "Dear friend, I remember all of your kindnesses to me, I will not take time to mention them, as you know them all." He was getting well. "I think I will be able one day to walk on my leg as well as ever," he reported. "It will be a little shorter than the other."<sup>43</sup>

A chastened Tom Harris was eventually allowed to return to Tuskegee, George Lovejoy became a successful lawyer in Mobile, and Hiram Thweatt became the head of an industrial school modeled after Tuskegee. In a physical sense at least, none of these men was victimized by Washington's conservative approach. On the other hand, it is also clear that in his years of power Washington was neither a fragmented personality pursuing contradictory and unclear goals nor an illusion-free pragmatist coolly adjusting his program to a realistic view of a worsening racial situation. He confronted a threatening social environment in 1895, but so did he in 1875 and 1885.

If we read Washington's life from front to back, we find that his life was of a piece. Perhaps the clearest characterization of his program would be "Uncle Tom in his own cabin," peasant conservatism, originating in the experience of slavery—the central life experience being emancipation itself—and practiced in a nation and by a race still overwhelmingly rural and agricultural. Perhaps because there were few black models in his life with the charisma of success, Washington from early life became inordinately attached to a succession of fatherly white men, white racists all, but mild and benevolent in their racism: General Ruffner, General Armstrong, William H. Baldwin, Jr., Theodore Roo-

<sup>42</sup> BTW to F. J. Grimké, Nov. 27, 1895, BTW Collection, Howard (1).

<sup>43</sup> Thomas A. Harris to BTW, Sept. 29, 1895, BTW Papers, LC (862). See also Harris to Warren Logan, Dec. 18, 1895, from Okolona, Miss., BTW Papers, Tuskegee (7); Harris to BTW, Oct. 27, 1902, from Anniston, Ala., BTW Papers, LC (229).

sevelt. All his life Washington followed the precepts that Hampton Institute taught and all these men subscribed to: a nineteenth-century faith in individual initiative and self-help, an accommodationist strategy toward Southern and American white racism that Armstrong believed to be the lesson taught by Reconstruction, and a faith that men like these could be his effective partners in counteracting Southern proscription and discrimination. Whenever his identity with the black community or his own interest impelled him to actions of which these white counselors and benefactors would not approve, he resorted to secrecy. Some complexities and inner tensions inevitably resulted. Washington's experiences in the 1880's and his responses to them suggest that historians have generally exaggerated the cyclical pattern of race relations in the period after Reconstruction or that Washington's life was more consistent and in a way more principled than we have assumed. If by 1895 he had become a "white man's black man," considering his background it is hard to see how he could have been anything else.

# Obstacles to Agricultural Growth in Eighteenth-Century France

ROBERT FORSTER

IN 1787 Lavoisier, the French chemist, said that "the greatest obstacles to French agriculture lie in our institutions and our laws."<sup>1</sup> More recently, Albert Soboul added that it was the Revolution that changed or removed these laws and institutions, broke the confines of a "feudal society," and released the *élan* of "new productive forces."<sup>2</sup> Were the principal obstacles to agriculture of an institutional nature? If so, the Revolution might well prepare the way for greater productivity. On the other hand, if the obstacles were not of an institutional and legal kind, the Revolution could do much less. As for values or psychological blocks to growth, it appears that revolutions are more likely to stimulate new social attitudes than new economic ones.

Simple agricultural economics would indicate a first look at labor, land, and capital. Under the Old Regime there was certainly an abundant labor supply. It has been estimated that about fifty people can be usefully employed on one hundred hectares of cereal-producing farmland.<sup>3</sup> France in the late eighteenth century had about twice that density. Unlike many parts of England, France had an abundant supply of cheap labor; real wages, as Labrousse's statistics demonstrate, fell regularly after 1750. From the point of view of an agricultural entrepreneur, this condition might be turned to good effect. Labor-intensive agriculture, of course, had no need for labor-saving techniques; sickles would do as well as scythes, hoes perhaps as well as plows and harrows, and manpower could replace oxen in the fields. On small plots the cost of keeping an ox is only doubtfully balanced by the additional output obtained by his labor.<sup>4</sup> In terms of production, new farm tech-

► Mr. Forster is author of *The Nobility of Toulouse in the 18th Century: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1960) and professor of modern European history at The Johns Hopkins University. A specialist in the social and economic history of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France, Mr. Forster has done extensive research in local French archives. His new book, *The House of Saulx-Tavanes*, will appear in 1971.

<sup>1</sup> Cited in O. Festy, *L'Agriculture pendant la Révolution française: Les conditions de production et de récolte des céréales. Étude d'histoire économique* (Paris, 1947), 49.

<sup>2</sup> A. Soboul, "La communauté rurale (XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle). Problèmes de base," *Revue de Synthèse*, LXXVIII (1957), 300-01. It should be noted that both Festy and Soboul quote Lavoisier out of context. Although Lavoisier emphasized the nefarious effects of the tax system and the interest rate, he was not unaware of "moral obstacles" as well. See A. L. Lavoisier, "Résultats de quelques expériences et leurs relations avec l'économie politique," *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1862), II, 812-23.

<sup>3</sup> D. Mitrany, *Marx Against the Peasant: A Study of Social Dogmatism* (New York, 1961), 117, 243-44.

<sup>4</sup> C. Clark and M. Haswell, *The Economics of Subsistence Agriculture* (New York, 1966), 55. The authors are referring to Indonesia here.

nology, despite all the plates in the Encyclopedia, was not the answer.<sup>5</sup> The problem lay not with output per man, but rather with output per unit of land.

"The difficulties facing peasants in the years before 1789," writes B. H. Slicher van Bath, "did not spring from the distribution of landownership, but from the utterly inadequate size of the farms."<sup>6</sup> Arthur Young's unqualified condemnation of the small plots he saw everywhere in France would seem decisive. Yet recent studies of agricultural development in the third world suggest that improvement in production is at least possible on fragmented land.<sup>7</sup> The example of Japan since the land reform of 1946 is worth noting. New owners working two- to three-acre plots increased farm production by 38 per cent between 1950 and 1963. The land reform of 1952 in Egypt redistributed some 700,000 acres to 250,000 families, that is, in average plots of less than three acres. In the following twelve years yields increased from 20 to 30 per cent without any appreciable increase in fertilizers, drainage, or other capital inputs. Comparable increases resulted from division of land in Mexico, though over a longer period of time.<sup>8</sup> It would appear, then, that what the development economists rather coldly call "motivational structure" can play a large role in increasing productivity. Even Young admitted that French hoes could turn sand to gold when the passion for ownership was gratified. Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the so-called Anglophile improver, was no physiocrat when it came to the size of plots. He recommended the multiplication of small property, not only as a resource against misery, but also to improve cultivation.<sup>9</sup> In 1790 the Duke noted the energy with which a number of poor villagers at Liancourt broke up the wasteland on his estate and put it to the hoe.<sup>10</sup> In the early nineteenth century, a departmental official assessed some of the unintentional effects of fragmentation in the canton of Liancourt.

... one of the first effects of this *morcellement* has been the almost general disappearance of the fallow, not because of an improved system of crop rotations, but because of the complete end of all regular rotations. Hoe culture has been considerably extended in the canton and it allows no special order in the rotation of crops.<sup>11</sup>

This observer saw nothing deleterious in the process. On the contrary, he noted that hoe culture had favored the planting of root crops.

<sup>5</sup> See F. Dovring, "The Transformation of European Agriculture," *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (Cambridge, 1965), VI, Pt. II, 642: In eighteenth-century England a ton of iron would make at most about ten plows. With world production of iron at about 250,000 tons in 1750 (and French at about 100,000), the peasants would simply have to wait until the nineteenth century for enough iron plows.

<sup>6</sup> B. H. Slicher van Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850* (New York, 1963), 321.

<sup>7</sup> Dovring, "Transformation of European Agriculture," 631. "... the allegation often made that land consolidation is a prerequisite of the use of modern crop rotations has not been borne out by experience, whatever damage fragmentation has done to technical and economic efficiency of labor and capital."

<sup>8</sup> P. M. Raup, "Land Reform and Agricultural Development," in *Agricultural Development and Economic Growth*, ed. H. M. Southworth and B. F. Johnston (Ithaca, N. Y., 1967), 285-90.

<sup>9</sup> R. Mantel, "La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt: Un novateur français dans la pratique agricole du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in A. Rigaudière, E. Zylberman, et R. Mantel, *Etudes d'histoire économique rurale au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1965), 204.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 202-03.

Does this mean, then, that the morale of ownership, even on tiny scraps of land, can outweigh the apparent inefficiencies of fragmentation? The picture of a multitude of peasant cultivators (owner-occupiers) armed with hoes, swarming over the land, and bringing even marginal soils to life has social as well as economic connotations. The life of the small holder has developed its own mystique, ably expounded by such varied French writers as Michelet, Proudhon, Barrès, and Péguy, not to mention painters from LeNain to Millet. The mystique has not left the historical profession untouched. Who can read Faucher or Roupnel, Saint Jacob or Lefebvre, Goubert or Soboul without feeling the force of a social ideal—the virtue of the *petit propriétaire*? Foville called it a life *plus facile, plus douce*, and *plus saine*.<sup>12</sup> Whatever the socio-psychological value of this mystique—and it is not to be dismissed lightly—has it blinded us to the economic disadvantages of fragmentation?

The secret to sustained agricultural growth in Japan, Egypt, and Mexico has been institutional follow-up with social overhead capital, including governmental information services, farm credit, cooperative processing and marketing, and experimental farms, all supported by a comprehensive program of public education. For lack of this “social engineering,” land reform in Bolivia and Iraq has foundered.<sup>13</sup> Whatever the virtues of the Lilliputian seigneur, he apparently needs constant prodding in addition to capital inputs from the outside. Morale can push production on small plots just so far, and without a generous dose of social overhead capital, a production plateau will be reached before an economic surplus can be attained. In eighteenth-century France the royal government, despite valiant efforts to promote agricultural growth by propaganda, was in no position to provide this aid.<sup>14</sup>

The debate on the relative merits of large and small farms still persists. Can the proprietor of a large farm (over 100 acres), unaided by such modern extension programs, do any better than the proprietor of a small one? The contemporary English example would seem to deliver an unequivocal answer. English agricultural improvements took place on large estates with tenant farms of well above 100 acres. Yet the example of Eastern Europe in the first half of this century would suggest that large-scale farming does not increase yields per acre. David Mitrany concludes that farming throughout Eastern Europe before World War I (and in most places before World War II) was profitable on a large scale and with extensive methods only as long as it could command semiservile conditions of labor,

<sup>12</sup> A. de Foville, *Le Morcellement* (Paris, 1885), 98. On Michelet's idealization of the peasant, see *ibid.*, 4. Balzac's image of the peasant is the exception to the favorable view of most men of letters in the nineteenth century. See H. Balzac, *La Comédie Humaine* (Ed. Pleiade, Paris, 1955–59), VIII, 54ff. Tonsard, for example, is not exactly an ideal of peasant virtue.

<sup>13</sup> Raup, “Land Reform,” 290–91.

<sup>14</sup> The quantities of this propaganda have made it possible to comment extensively on the good intentions of agricultural improvers in France after 1750. See A. Bourde, *Agronomie et agronomes en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1967). For the failure to obtain practical results, at least in terms of yield of grain per acre, see M. Morineau, “Y a-t-il eu une révolution agricole en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle?” *Revue historique*, CCXXXIX (1968), 299–326.



and even in cereal crops the well-established peasants of Transylvania consistently obtained higher yields than did any of the larger estates.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, the optimum size of a plot for maximizing production depends on soil, climate, and especially the crop planted. In the American Midwest today cereals are undoubtedly grown most profitably on a large scale where the advantages of modern mechanization (deep plowing, seed drilling, fertilizer spreading) can be brought to bear. In the eighteenth century these advantages were far less certain. Had the peasant been willing and able to shift to mixed farming, livestock raising, and dairying, there is little question that middling and even small (under 25 acres) plots could have done as well as, or better than, the large (over 100). The case of the Netherlands would seem to substantiate this.<sup>16</sup>

In France, cereal production was affected by two other interrelated factors—prices and consumer tastes. As Slicher van Bath has demonstrated, the relationship of the prices of various types of farm produce is as important as the overall price index so emphasized by Labrousse in his concern for the standard of living of various social groups. After 1750 the price of cereals began to rise much faster than did the price of other agricultural products such as beef, mutton, and dairy produce.<sup>17</sup> All over Europe the tendency was to convert pasture to arable in an effort to profit from this price trend. Furthermore, something must be said for the emphasis—by consumer and government—on bread as the staff of life. Knowing what we do about conditions of the French daylaborer in the late eighteenth century, it may seem somewhat callous to speak of consumer taste. In any case, the French family was extremely reluctant to shift food consumption to dairy products, turnips, or the potato, though many peasants in the Midi did eat maize.<sup>18</sup> For both these reasons—the rise in cereal prices and the near obsession with “cheap bread”—the small peasant planted every spare foot of his land in cereals, though this was the crop least suited to small-scale farming. Young made the same point about French landlords both large and small: if they cannot plant wheat after a forage, they regard the forage as no good.<sup>19</sup>

Whatever the optimum size of farm for cereal production, it is a fact that small plots were not producing an economic surplus in the eighteenth century. Labrousse tells us that in 1852, 85 per cent of the peasant-owned farms were less than 10 hectares (25 acres) in size and were not involved in the market.<sup>20</sup> The percentage must have been even greater in the eighteenth century, since a family needed from

<sup>15</sup> Mitrany, *Marx Against the Peasant*, 123.

<sup>16</sup> Slicher van Bath, *Agrarian History*, 236.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 223. On the other hand, Alun Davies claims that meat prices rose during the 1770's and 1780's when grain prices were falling, consequently encouraging conversion to meadow, at least in Lower Normandy. Alun Davies, “The New Agriculture in Lower Normandy, 1750–1789,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Ser., VIII (1958), 145.

<sup>18</sup> Mitrany, *Marx Against the Peasant*, 122–23.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur Young, *Travels in France in 1787, 1788, and 1789* (London, 1794). Young made this comment after a meeting of a local French agriculture society.

<sup>20</sup> E. Labrousse, “The Evolution of Peasant Society in France from the Eighteenth Century to the Present,” in *French Society and Culture Since the Old Regime*, ed. E. Acomb and M. Brown (New York, 1966), 60. One-half of the peasant-owned farms were less than five acres.

12 to 27 hectares (30 to 65 acres) to attain economic independence.<sup>21</sup> If we accept Foville's estimate of four million owner-occupiers in 1789, one might set the maximum number of peasants who entered the market at about 600,000.<sup>22</sup> Certainly the margins that they placed on the market were very small, and many could not even reach the market, given the state of communications and the small number of draft animals, carts, or wagons in their possession. Young's description of the peasant who walked miles to sell a few chickens suggests the kind of market operations involved here. There seems little doubt that a large majority of the 600,000 were obliged to sell their produce to the larger landlords, who then handled the marketing.<sup>23</sup>

What about land owned by the *propriétaire non-exploitant*? Labrousse has suggested that the bulk of the marketable grain was in the hands of the privileged on the eve of the Revolution.<sup>24</sup> If we extend "privileged" to include *rentiers* of all stripes and their *fermiers*, this was unquestionably true. Much of the grain was grown on *métairies* (sometimes called *borderies* or *closeries*), farms of from 25 to 50 acres (but often smaller) throughout France. Most of these *métairies*—Young said seven-eighths, Lefebvre, three-fourths—were leased on shares (*métayage*) and the rest at money rents (*fermage*).<sup>25</sup> Sharecropping was employed when the tenant had no capital resources and the land was at some distance from the main centers of the grain trade. It was especially prevalent west of Normandy and south of the Loire. The *métayer* was little more than a semiliterate dirt farmer whose half-produce (*demi-fruits*) was a euphemism for bare subsistence. Sharecropping gave him some floor in a disastrous year, and the whole arrangement owed as much to notions of rural paternalism as it did to sound economics. The social dependence reflected in the phrase "*mon maître*" died slowly in Brittany, the Vendée, or on the banks of the Garonne. Dispelling any comparison with English tenantry, Young observed that "these *métayers* find nothing towards stocking a farm but labor and implements, and being exceedingly miserable, there is rarely a sufficiency of the latter."<sup>26</sup>

Clearly the *métayer* was not in the market and had neither the means nor the incentive to increase farm production. When armchair agronomists and members of agricultural societies condemned in somewhat supercilious fashion the "routine"

<sup>21</sup> P. Goubert, "The French Peasantry of the Seventeenth Century: A Regional Example," in *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660*, ed. T. Aston (Garden City, N. Y., 1967), 166. On the very best land—in Artois, for example—independence might be attained with only eight hectares or 20 acres. See G. Lefebvre, *Les Paysans du Nord pendant la Révolution française* (Lille, 1922), 273.

<sup>22</sup> Foville, *Morcellement*, 68. Lefebvre estimated that from 15 to 19 per cent of proprietors were "independent" in 1789, based on local samples. See Lefebvre, *Etudes sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1954), 210-11.

<sup>23</sup> Young (*Travels*, 381-84) describes this custom among winegrowers. We know little about the operations of the small grain brokers who circulated in the countryside. See A. P. Usher, *History of the Grain Trade in France, 1400-1710* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

<sup>24</sup> E. Labrousse, *Origines et aspects économiques et sociaux de la Révolution française 1774-1791* (Paris, 1952), 30, 32.

<sup>25</sup> G. Lefebvre, *Questions agraires au temps de la Terreur* (La-Roche-sur-Yon, 1954), 91f.

<sup>26</sup> Young, *Travels*, 355-56.

of the French peasantry, they had the poor sharecropper in mind.<sup>27</sup> They might well have included the owner who, with a half dozen or more such *métairies* and a surplus for the market, had far less excuse for his "routine." Ninety per cent of the landlords of Toulouse, for example, leased their grain lands on shares; although quite capable of selling—indeed speculating—in an important grain market and attentively supervising day-to-day farm operations, they were singularly unconcerned about farm improvements other than clearings.<sup>28</sup> This seemed to be typical of resident provincial seigneurs—Depont, Bertier, Piré, La Bourdonnaye, Mairetet—men who knew the virtues of economy only too well.<sup>29</sup> From their standpoint, the risks were too great, the rewards too uncertain. With a few hundred acres at the most, could such a landlord afford to wait for the rye grass to take hold or the vetches to fatten his livestock? Grain sales had secured him his 10,000 *livres* per annum, but this was hardly enough to risk on some harebrained English experiment. Moreover, when profits did come, they would have to be shared, at least for a time, with the *métayers* and certainly with the tax collector, since the landlord almost always had to pay part of the sharecroppers' *tailles* in addition to his own taxes. Far better to invest savings (and there were some, if a landlord remained away from Paris) in additional *métairies* or even in scattered strips that one day might be consolidated. But consolidated or not, land could always be let out, and at increasing rents after 1760. Here was a certain three per cent return, more assured than a government *rente*, not to mention a commercial venture. Finally, to be seigneur of six villages was certainly more prestigious than to be seigneur of five, "improved" or not.

The other type of rental, the money leaseholds (*fermage*), made up one-fourth of the leased land in the kingdom, but they represented a smaller proportion of the number of tenants. Labrousse estimated about one *fermier* for every seven *métayers*.<sup>30</sup> The *fermier* was more like the English tenant farmer, for to pay a money rent necessarily involved some market connection. Was this the capitalist farmer at last? Quesnay in the *Encyclopedia* would have it so:

The poor *cultivateurs*, of so little value to the State, do not represent the true *laboureurs*. [It is] the rich *fermier* who cultivates the land on a large scale, who manages, who gives orders, who multiplies his expenses to increase his profits . . . [and] who employs the people of the countryside in a useful manner. . . . The wealth of the *fermiers* enriches the land.<sup>31</sup>

Here was the hero of the physiocrats, but he was destined to become a somewhat sinister figure in the minds of most French social historians. For Bloch, the *fermier* was the "agrarian individualist"; for Lefebvre, the *coq de village*; for Saint Jacob, the "engrossing rural bourgeois"; and for Soboul, the avaricious cap-

<sup>27</sup> Lefebvre, *Paysans du Nord*, 224.

<sup>28</sup> R. Forster, *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1960).

<sup>29</sup> I have encountered these families in the departmental archives: Depont des Granges at La Rochelle, Bertier at Toulouse, Piré and La Bourdonnaye at Rennes, Mairetet at Dijon.

<sup>30</sup> Labrousse, *Origines et aspects*, 40.

<sup>31</sup> D. Diderot, "Fermier," *L'Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1756).

italist, representative of the "new feudalism."<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately for the progress of French agriculture, the *fermier* was a much more innocuous figure, in retrospect more to be pitied than hated.

There were three major species of *fermiers* in the eighteenth century, excluding countless hybrids. First, there was the small *fermier* who tilled the land himself, sometimes with the help of a hired hand (*valet*). Like the sharecropper, he too farmed a *métairie* of from 25 to 50 acres and paid an annual rent of a few hundred *livres*. These money leases customarily added a rent in kind (*suffrage*). Usually calculated in chickens and capons, the *suffrage* might also include more substantial produce such as oats and wine, in addition to cartage services.<sup>33</sup> It appears that although this brand of tenant had some contact with the local market, he spent considerable time working the land and performing services for the owner, who apparently was close by. His profit could not have been large and, assuming a rent-income ratio near 50 per cent, the rise in rents after 1750 would have steadily reduced his profit margin.<sup>34</sup> A *cahier* in Angoumois claimed that the local *fermiers* were no "better" than *métayers*; they were the same in Brittany.<sup>35</sup> The small *fermiers* lived side by side with the sharecroppers of Limousin, Saintonge, Auvergne, Vendée, and the Midi and seemed little different from them in style of life. In short, for this group of *fermiers* little could be expected in the form of capital improvements. Quesnay could not have been referring to them.

The second type of *fermier* was the large-scale tenant or *gros fermier*, almost exclusively confined to the *bassin* of Paris and the northeast of France. He was a specialized cereal producer for an accessible urban market, although some of the *gros fermiers* in French Flanders specialized in grasses and livestock. The *gros fermier* was a real farm manager: he never touched a plow, but he mobilized wage labor and those sharecroppers who owed so much cartage service that they functioned as wage labor.<sup>36</sup> He had direct contact with both production and the market. Rather than *métairies* he leased "domains" with areas reaching 500 and even 1,000 acres, though not necessarily in contiguous blocks. His rent might range from less than 5,000 to as high as 20,000 and even 30,000 *livres* per annum. To survive such an operation, the *gros fermier* had to have considerable capital and managerial skill. He had to calculate, carry on correspondence, know the law, negotiate with

<sup>32</sup> W. Bloch, "La lutte pour l'individualisme agraire dans la France du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, II (1930), 329-84, 511-54; Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*; P. de Saint Jacob, *Les Paysans de la Bourgogne du Nord au dernier siècle de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1960); Soboul, "La communauté rurale," 283-307, and *Paysans, Sans-Culottes et Jacobins* (Paris, 1966).

<sup>33</sup> Labrousse, *Origines et aspects*, 41; *Archives Départementales*, (Charente-Maritime), E-483, 484, 490, Depont des Granges Papers. (Hereafter cited as A.D., followed by the name of the French department and the number of the bundles or the name of the collection.)

<sup>34</sup> Forster, *Nobility of Toulouse*, 60 n. The fact that rents rose faster than prices does not necessarily mean that the *fermier*'s profits declined.

<sup>35</sup> Cited by G. Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*, 92, n.; A.D. (Ille-et-Vilaine), Fonds Coniac-65, Questionnaire of 1804.

<sup>36</sup> The *valet* or *maître valet* had a certain prestige that placed him above the ordinary *journalier* in the peasant hierarchy. He might receive a share of the secondary farm produce in addition to a money wage.

the big grain merchants, and keep on reasonably peaceful terms with the surrounding peasantry. Yet in the rich loams from the Beauce to Flanders and with techniques of advanced rotation moving southward from Lille to Arras, there were real incentives to increase production.<sup>37</sup>

Here then was a small group of tenant farmers—fewer than one per parish in Artois and the Laonais<sup>38</sup>—whose actions betrayed a mentality far different from that of the mass of peasantry (*journaliers*, *métayers*, small *fermiers*, or small owners) in the countryside around them. Owning little or no land himself, the *fermier* was not tied to the family farm and its essential autarchy. He found his sense of security and purpose in commercialized farming. His activities as a mass-producer of grain and as one who stocks, speculates, and “hoards” a commodity in high demand did not earn him many friends. His role as employer of large numbers of seasonal laborers and as lender of plows, wagons, draft animals, seed, manure, straw, and sometimes coin endeared him to the average peasant even less. His very economic success, reflected in a network of local mortgage loans, the concentration of *fermes*, and frequent conversion of grainland into meadow, posed a threat to small peasants who saw their opportunities for proprietorship, leaseholds, and even work diminished by the *fermier*’s “engrossing.” The growing hostility of the countryside must have made the *gros fermier* hard, determined, and often contemptuous of the “little men” around him. Yet even among the bitterly critical petitions of the 1790’s against the “avaricious egoists” and “new aristos,” a begrudging compliment to the *fermier*’s economic function can be found. One petitioner observed:

I am not a partisan of large exploitations, but I have always regarded the *fermes* as the only *greniers d'abondance*. Those who have thought seriously about farm production know that those who work only a few acres do not sell any grain. They cultivate only for their own family consumption; any surplus goes to fatten a few farm animals. No doubt division of the land has benefitted a large number of individuals [peasants]. . . . If the *fermes* are divided . . . the production of the land will be consumed in the countryside, but the town markets will be more poorly provisioned.<sup>39</sup>

Other petitions alluded to the efforts of *fermiers* to convert grainland to meadow. The “*herbager*” became a term of opprobrium: “They tear down buildings and hedges and convert arable into grasses . . . *espèce d'aristocratie!*” “To make matters worse, they *enluzernent*, instead of planting grain . . . egoists, who still cling to the Old Regime.”<sup>40</sup> At the height of the Terror the owner-occupiers, small tenants, and daylaborers gave full vent to their hatred of the *fermier* and their opposition to commercialized farming.

Albert Soboul, who has written extensively about the peasantry as well as about the Parisian sans-culottes, claimed that the *gros fermier*, since he also collected

<sup>37</sup> Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*, 58f.

<sup>38</sup> J. Loutchisky, *La propriété paysanne en France à la veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1912), 191.

<sup>39</sup> Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*, 197–98.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 217, 234.

seigneurial dues, was hopelessly tied to the old system of production.<sup>41</sup> But Lefebvre, who no doubt shared Soboul's sympathy for the "little man," could not deny the *fermier* his economic function:

In fact, agricultural renovation owed a great deal to the *fermiers généraux* and to the owners of *métairies* whose poor and uneducated tenants received the livestock, tools, and direction they needed.<sup>42</sup>

Not all *gros fermiers* retained direct control over farm production, however. To lease 500 acres rarely meant 500 contiguous acres. A *fermier* might lease a *corps de ferme* of 75 to 150 acres; he might just as frequently lease the same area "en détail," that is, in small plots that did not lend themselves to direct management by wage labor.<sup>43</sup> As Loutchisky discovered from the *vingtième* rolls, the "bourgeois of Laon" or the nobles of Artois leased their lands in scores, even hundreds of scattered lots.<sup>44</sup> In this case the *fermier* had no choice but to sublet.<sup>45</sup>

This introduces the third type of *fermier*, usually called the *fermier général* or *fermier principal*. Like the *gros fermier* of the Beauce, he was still a grain merchant, a *marchand-fermier*. But he was not a farm manager with control over the hiring and firing of labor or over land use. His administrative role was that of collector of rent from a dozen or more subtenants, usually *métayers*, small tenants, and millers who paid a produce rent. Contrary to past assumptions, there were usually four or five of these *fermiers principaux* on a large estate. This system was preferred by the largest landholders throughout France, but it was especially pronounced in the Saône and Rhône valleys and on the lower Loire (Maine, Anjou), perhaps because these waterways facilitated the transport of grain and wood to market.<sup>46</sup> It had obvious advantages for a landlord whose rents came from a very disparate number of sources—arable, meadow, vineyard, wood, mills, forges, ovens, ponds—scattered in enclaves over a number of parishes. Once more the *fermier principal* assumed the arduous task of collecting the seigneurial dues over a much larger area. In this manner the absentee landlord—often at Paris—could avoid the oscillations of the market, count on a regular money income, and plan a budget.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the system by no means confined the landlord to a fixed revenue, since the rents could be raised at each renewal of the lease every six or nine years.

The *fermiers* of Depont des Granges, ennobled *Trésorier de France* at La Rochelle, drew the bulk of their revenues not from domain land, but from the

<sup>41</sup> Soboul, "La communauté rurale," 296–97.

<sup>42</sup> G. Lefebvre, "Discussion," *Revue de Synthèse*, LXXVIII (1957), 310. This was written in response to Soboul's article above.

<sup>43</sup> A. de Calonne, *La Vie agricole sous l'Ancien Régime dans le Nord de la France* (Paris, 1920), 174.

<sup>44</sup> Loutchisky, *La Propriété paysanne*, 192–94.

<sup>45</sup> Barrington Moore demonstrates that in the case of nineteenth-century India, land hunger was so great that subletting became profitable at all levels of peasant society. B. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston, 1966), 362.

<sup>46</sup> Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*, 100–01.

<sup>47</sup> See Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York, 1958), 206f.



seigneurial right of *terrage* (one-eighth of the wine harvest) over several thousand acres in Aunis. They needed only enough land to set up stills to make brandy for export.<sup>48</sup> The *fermiers* of Duc de Saulx-Tavanes, the Parisian court noble, gathered thousands of bushels of wheat and oats from the *dîmes inféodées* as well as from fixed produce rents on hundreds of tiny strips in the Dijon plain.<sup>49</sup> Forest land, the great bulk of which was in the hands of absentee nobles, was almost always leased in this manner to *fermiers* who dealt with the wood merchants, naval procurement officers, blacksmiths, and other middlemen.<sup>50</sup>

Not only was this *fermier* cut off from directly influencing production, he was often unable to raise the rents of his subtenants. Although Lefebvre and Saint Jacob claim that the *fermiers* passed their rent increases on to their subtenants, it was not always possible to do so. In the Dijonnais, for example, custom prescribed a rent of so many "measures" of wheat, about one-third of the harvest, and there is little evidence that these produce rents (on very small plots) were raised in the eighteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Not that the *fermier* did not try to raise rents, and where money rent pertained—for mills and meadows, for example—he succeeded. But the difficulties inherent in raising produce rents on marginal subtenants probably forced the *fermier* to shift his role to that of rural creditor. Either way, he earned the dislike of the peasant community. His economic function was still important, but he was in no position to increase production. Certainly the hostility of the men who tilled the soil did not make them anxious to implement any innovations the *fermier* might suggest.

English agrarian historians have increasingly emphasized the mutually supporting roles of landlord, agent, and tenant as providing the real impetus for agricultural progress in England from the seventeenth century.<sup>52</sup> The English landlord provided the favorable setting in which an enterprising tenantry, backed by an informed estate steward, could and would make capital estate improvements be-

<sup>48</sup> A.D. (Charente-Maritime), E-472-502, Depont des Granges Papers.

<sup>49</sup> A.D. (Côte d'Or), E-1661-2023, Saulx-Tavanes Papers; see my forthcoming book, *The House of Saulx-Tavanes*, scheduled for publication in the spring of 1971.

<sup>50</sup> About 20 per cent of the productive land in France in 1789 was in forest, and wood prices rose faster than those of any other produce of the land from 1750 to 1789. See Zylberman, "Auger de Montyon, partisan de l'agriculture nouvelle," in Rigaudière *et al.*, *Etudes d'histoire rurale*, 118. Among the noble owners of extensive forest land, one can cite Condé, Artois, Orléans, Soubise, Vauguyon, Tessé, and Tavanes. Young said that wherever he encountered forest it was owned by absentee nobles.

<sup>51</sup> Saint Jacob, *Les paysans de la Bourgogne*; A.D. (Côte d'Or), Saulx-Tavanes Papers. Lefebvre uncovered one example of a rise in produce rents of this kind. See *Questions agraires*, 150. The *fermiers* of Vonges (near Dijon) were accused in 1794 of having raised the rents from six to ten "measures" per *journal* (.8 acres).

<sup>52</sup> G. E. Mingay, "The 'Agricultural Revolution' in English History: A Reconsideration," *Agricultural History*, XXXVII (1963), 123-33; J. D. Chambers and G. E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880* (New York, 1966); *Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815*, ed. E. L. Jones (London, 1967); G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London and Toronto, 1963); H. J. Habakkuk, "Economic Functions of English Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Essays in Agrarian History*, ed. W. E. Minchinton (Plymouth, 1968), I, 189-201.



yond the usual annual repairs. The comparison of English and French practice in the eighteenth century is very instructive here.

Critics of the French landlord-tenant relationship have usually focused on the provisions of the lease. Nine years, the usual length of the lease, was scarcely enough time to permit the tenant to profit from his own improvements. As one contemporary observed, the *fermier*, even in the North, worked to full capacity only during the middle three years when he might realize the benefits of his improvements; during the last three he put forth only a minimum of effort.<sup>53</sup> However, the English experience indicates that the brevity of the lease was not the real problem. Although there were cases in England of 14- and 21-year leases, annual leases, even verbal ones, were much more typical, providing no more legally enforceable security of tenure than in France.<sup>54</sup> But the practice was quite different. English landlords did not raise rents as rapidly and as frequently as did French landlords in the eighteenth century. It was simply not the custom to raise rent on a "sitting tenant," and even annual leases were renewed if not automatically, at least so regularly that tenant families stayed on for lifetimes, even generations—or thought they would.<sup>55</sup> This was not true in France, where the turnover of tenants on most estates was legend.<sup>56</sup> The dispatch with which French landlords notified their old tenants to pay the increase, including the infamous *pot de vin*, or see their lease auctioned is in striking contrast to English practice. English estate manuals, "hints" to country gentlemen, and guides to land stewards all seem to concur that the tenant should not be pushed too hard—hard enough to keep him working, of course, but not so hard as to stifle all initiative.<sup>57</sup>

Such finesse, or simply enlightened self-interest, was unheard of in France. The tenant, especially the *fermier* who sublet, was not considered primarily (if at all) as an entrepreneur or improver by the landlord. In fact, the French manuals, or rather private advisory *mémoires* for landlords, assumed that the costs of a salaried steward (*régisseur*) and a *fermier* were about the same, that is, rarely more than a thousand *livres*, and, in any case, not more than ten per cent of the total income of the land leased. It was the custom of Duc de Saulx-Tavannes to send special agents

<sup>53</sup> A. Chabert, *Essai sur les mouvements des revenus et de l'activité économique en France de 1798 à 1820* (Paris, 1949), 55–56; Calonne, *La Vie agricole*, 190–96; Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*, 80–84.

<sup>54</sup> Chambers and Mingay, *Agricultural Revolution*, 46–48.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 165–66. "It was true in the eighteenth century, and was still true in the middle of the nineteenth, that tenancies at will did not necessarily involve insecurity of tenure. Under the traditional arrangement many thousands of farming families went on for generations, often making improvements, and quite confident in their landlords." (Italics mine); D. B. Grigg, "A Note on Agricultural Rent and Expenditure in Nineteenth-Century England," *Agricultural History*, XXXIX (1965), 150.

<sup>56</sup> Was it less so in the Vendée? Curiously, Charles Tilly has not investigated this aspect of the issue of rural solidarity systematically. See C. Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 126–32. In the one case Tilly cites, rents tripled in twenty years! More important, what about the turnover of tenants?

<sup>57</sup> Nathaniel Kent, *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* (London, 1799) [there is also a 1775 edition]; Edward Laurence, *The Duty and Office of a Land Steward* (London, 1736); and John Lawrence, *The Modern Land Steward* (London, 1801).

to his Dijon seigneuries to estimate the total income from all the subtenants based on market prices, including the "maximum yield" from the seigneurial dues and *dîmes*. Back in Paris the Duke and his intendant would then adjust their rents on the basis of these reports. In general, the Duke allowed his tenants a margin of ten per cent of the total income from the subtenants.<sup>58</sup> Such a method of rent adjustment was not designed to inspire much confidence between landlord and tenant and clearly produced little margin for the tenant to make capital improvements.<sup>59</sup>

Larger tenants, especially those leasing forges and forest, sometimes obtained capital elsewhere—in partnerships with iron masters or town merchants, for example—but at rather high rates of six to eight per cent and on a short-term basis.<sup>60</sup> There was little outside capital available for improvements on arable lands. Rebates on rents in compensation for improvements were apparently common practice in England, but this too was unheard of in France. This situation was a source of complaint by the tenant interest in the Revolution.<sup>61</sup> When one of the more ambitious tenants of Duc de Saulx-Tavanes requested a temporary reduction in his rent to permit him to convert the land into meadow for commercialized dairy farming, adding extensive drainage, new forage crops, and new cow sheds, he was refused in summary fashion. As the Duke's agent put it, "The 2,000 *livres* increase in revenue [predicted by the tenant] will come to us anyway at the next lease without planting any new crop."<sup>62</sup>

Direct capital improvements by the landlord were another possibility. Economists would like to know the re-investment rate on a landed estate, but unfortunately estate accounts are not very precise about "expenses," the nature of "repair costs," and the timeless "*frais divers*." Like the accounts of Russian estates described by Michael Confino, French account books were not designed for cost analysis.<sup>63</sup> A landlord could not tell from his account book much about the relative efficiency or profitability of capital inputs. One dominant principle does come through, however. All estate expenses must be kept at a minimum. When a large landlord had half a dozen seigneuries, he might set the revenues of one aside to pay the taxes, administrative costs, and repairs on all. On this one domain he would place a resident steward whose task it was to inspect and repair the other

<sup>58</sup> A.D. (Côte d'Or), Saulx-Tavanes Papers. The same technique of determining the *fermier's* profit was employed by Marquise de Choiseul-Beaupré on her estate in Lorraine. See *Archives Nationales* (Paris), T-153<sup>112-114</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Clark and Haswell give the rent-income ratio for France as a whole as 39 per cent in 1788 and 45 per cent in 1815, rates comparable to parts of China in 1928 and Chile in 1960. When rent takes half of the gross product of the land, low-income agriculture is in evidence. Clark and Haswell, *Subsistence Agriculture*, 99, 105-07. The case of Saulx-Tavanes is not really what economists mean by rent-income ratio, since we are dealing here with a tenant who sublets.

<sup>60</sup> A. R. J. Turgot, *Oeuvres*, ed. E. Daire (Paris, 1844), I, 106f; the Saulx-Tavanes Papers contain a short-term loan to one of the Duke's *fermiers* from a Lyon merchant at six per cent. A.D. (Côte d'Or), Saulx-Tavanes Papers.

<sup>61</sup> Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*, 80ff.

<sup>62</sup> A.D. (Côte d'Or), Saulx-Tavanes Papers.

<sup>63</sup> M. Confino, *Domaines et seigneurs en Russie vers la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1963), 170-76. Confino asserts that the Russian peasant knew his costs better than the seigneur.

domains, keeping within his budget. Again, unlike the English steward, the role of the French *régisseur* or estate agent was not that of improver.

Lawrence's manual for English stewards (1801) recommends a man versed in practical political economy, one who will see opportunities for profitable amelioration of the land. Above all, says Lawrence, he must *not* be an attorney who will devote all his time to keeping neat accounts and threatening delinquent tenants with court action.<sup>64</sup> But this was precisely what the French landlord seemed to prefer. The Tavanès Papers include a list of the proper functions of the steward. He must collect the rents, dispatch them promptly by coach to Paris, keep exact accounts, auction the leases, collect arrears, serve seigniorial titles, and threaten to go to court if necessary. How many stewards defended their performance in the manner of the Duke's man: "I have never been reproached by the Duchesse de Luynes. At the end of every lease I have always increased the rents." One new steward had the courage to answer his landlord's criticism of "lack of economy" by replying that there had been rather too much "economy" in the past for the good of the estate.<sup>65</sup>

Given such attitudes, it is not surprising to find that in the 1780's the re-investment rate on the Tavanès estate averaged 4.3 per cent on a gross income of between 80,000 and 95,000 *livres*. If repairing stone walls and the roofs of farm buildings are excluded, the rate falls to zero. One example is hardly enough, but there is little evidence, aside from the spurt of clearings in the 1760's, of investments approaching the English rate.<sup>66</sup> The English re-investment rate ranged between 11 and 25 per cent.<sup>67</sup> For the middling and lesser landlords in France, we shall probably never get beyond Young's impressionistic observation that they "stock the farm not one penny beyond the most pressing necessity."<sup>68</sup> Resources were limited for the middling landlord, but for the large landlord there was ample capital formation. Nevertheless, a man like Duc de Saulx-Tavanès preferred to spend his income of 120,000 *livres* in Paris. Whatever stimulating effects his spending habits had on the luxury industry, their effects on agricultural growth were nil.

<sup>64</sup> Lawrence, *Modern Land Steward*, 45-46. "These men (attorney-stewards) carry their predilection for precedent from their offices to the field, and are usually as much opposed to innovation as the farmers themselves."

<sup>65</sup> A.D. (Côte d'Or), Saulx-Tavanès Papers.

<sup>66</sup> The Duc d'Orléans spent 16 per cent of his gross estate income for administration, but only .5 per cent for repairs in the 1780's. Most of the Duke's land was in forest. B. Hyslop, *L'Apanage de Philippe-Egalité, duc d'Orléans, 1775-1791* (Paris, 1965), 368 and *passim*.

<sup>67</sup> Nathaniel Kent recommended 11 per cent on small farms, 7 on large, "once in good repair." Kent, *Hints to Gentlemen* (1775), 207. Individual examples tend to be higher. Habakkuk notes 7.5 per cent for the Bedford estates in the early eighteenth century, but Grigg places it at 25 per cent for three estates throughout the nineteenth century. David Spring, again for the nineteenth century, notes an 18 per cent average expenditure on Sir James Graham's estate between 1819 and 1845 and over 30 per cent on the Duke of Bedford's estate between 1842 and 1861. These examples are late for an exact comparison with French estates, but the order of difference seems clear. Habakkuk, "Economic Functions," 194; Grigg, "A Note on Rent," 150-51; D. Spring, "A Great Agricultural Estate: Netherby under Sir James Graham, 1820-45," *Agricultural History*, XXIX (1955), 80-81; D. Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration* (Baltimore, 1963), 192. See also W. M. Postan, "Investment in Medieval Agriculture," *Journal of Economic History*, XXVII (1967), 579.

<sup>68</sup> Young, *Travels*, 355.

Behind the agrarian structure, that is, behind the formal arrangement of tenure, size, and administration of the land, price trends, labor and capital supply, and investment, is the question of values and attitudes appropriate to maximizing production for the market. Only one substantial group in French landed society in the eighteenth century possessed these values: the *gros fermiers*, supported by a sprinkling of middling resident landlords and independent peasant owners. For these men opportunities were limited. Many, perhaps most, of the *gros fermiers* had no direct control over farm production, and all were hindered by a hostile social climate. Hostility came partly from peasants, especially smaller tenants and *laboureurs*, whose governing passion was to own a subsistence family farm. This socio-psychological conception was so powerful and pervasive that it appears to have converted even the *fermier* himself in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>69</sup> There was hostility from the large landlords, too, who discouraged improvement at every turn, treating the *fermier* as an intermediary, not an entrepreneur.<sup>70</sup> The large landlord's aversion to risk and his obsession with immediate return is a subject itself, closely related to the magnetic role of Paris as the focus of French social aspirations. Paris promised much—the marriage market, the money market, the sinecures, offices, preferments, and, of course, the magnificent setting, without which to be a gentleman was a poor thing indeed. The land was but a means, too often sucked dry to provide the cream of society the resources to consume, to buy regiments, to pay dowries, and to consume again. And when the landed revenues were not enough, the large landlords mortgaged the land and drew off the capital of others for more conspicuous consumption on the rue Saint Honoré or to pay family portions and dowries that were in turn “consumed” for status. How much of this capital was diverted from productive industry is another issue, but that little flowed back to the land for capital improvement there seems no doubt.<sup>71</sup>

Once this landed society is understood in terms of the values and aspirations that maintained it, other factors usually considered “obstacles” to agricultural growth seem relatively unimportant. Inadequate transportation and communication deserve mention, but only for reinforcing the autarchical instincts of the aver-

<sup>69</sup> The decline of *fermage* and the increase in the number of family farms has not yet been measured precisely. Foville's figures, however, indicate a steady increase in the number of owner-occupiers to about 1880. How many of these were one-time *fermiers* who had bought a plot of their own? The suffrage requirements of the early nineteenth century clearly encouraged proprietorship, since the right to vote and hold office was based largely on the land tax.

<sup>70</sup> Lavoisier claimed that the well-to-do *fermiers* in the Paris basin preferred to place their capital in government *rentes* rather than in agricultural improvements. The high interest on government securities was “an invincible obstacle” to agricultural progress in his view. But was this investment preference a consequence of the rate of return or of the attitude of landlords—at least primarily? I suspect that the *fermiers* in this area would have purchased *rentes* even if the rate of return on the land were the same or even higher than the return on government *rentes*.

<sup>71</sup> Habakkuk makes a distinction between those landowners who diverted capital from “productive purposes” and those who “facilitated the flow of new capital into agriculture and transport.” He concludes that, although the English landlords were a class of consumers, they did invest a substantial portion of their revenues (and borrowings) in the land. Habakkuk, “Economic Functions,” 200. The problem, as Samuel Kuznets recently put it, is to determine “the economic cost of the non-economic use of a surplus.” Comment in a session of the International Economic History Association, Bloomington, Ind., Sept. 1968.

age peasant. The abolition of internal customs and tolls, the unification of weights and measures, and the reduction of indirect taxes appear as permissive factors for a future agricultural revolution perhaps, but little more. The retardative economic effects of the seigneurial system, whatever its social significance, have been over-emphasized. No doubt Soboul is right in drawing attention to the weight of the dues and *dîmes*—20 per cent of the net harvest on small plots is probably not wide of the mark.<sup>72</sup> But what happened as a result of the Revolutionary abolition is instructive here. First, a certain portion of the dues were retained by landlords in the form of supplementary rents.<sup>73</sup> More important, there is no reason to believe that the peasant invested his added margin of revenue in farm improvements and every reason to believe that he simply consumed it. Instead of selling his chickens, eggs, and butter to pay his dues, he ate them.<sup>74</sup> This is a kind of agricultural progress, of course, but not what is usually meant by agricultural growth.<sup>75</sup> True, the end of mutation fees and perpetual seigneurial rents made it easier to group the parcels of land but there is little evidence that this is what happened; pressures for further fragmentation were too great. Communal rights were a more serious obstacle, deserving more attention than can be given in this article.<sup>76</sup> But the issue should be treated in relation to still another value system—the rights of the poor in eighteenth-century French society. In any event, the Revolution did not abolish all communal rights.

Much is made of sanctity of property and contract as the very center of a “bourgeois, capitalist revolution.” But in the case of France, the sanctity of contract worked against the very group that might have made French agriculture capitalistic in an entrepreneurial sense. So small and suspect were the *gros fermiers* as a pressure group that they failed to obtain any of their demands for tenure security, longer lease terms, rebates for improvements, or even calamity insurance. Such demands were considered unwarranted interference in the freedom of contract.<sup>77</sup> Rents continued to rise through the Revolution, reaching an all-time high in 1817.<sup>78</sup> To be sure, the *fermiers* were able to take advantage of the Revolution in other ways—to gain municipal office, default on their rents, buy *émigré* and Church lands, and sell grain and other produce to the army. But if they often emerged as

<sup>72</sup> A. Soboul, “La Révolution française et la féodalité,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, CXIII (1968), 289–98; M. Leymarie, “Les redevances foncières seigneuriales en Haute-Auvergne,” *ibid.*, 299–380.

<sup>73</sup> Soboul, “La Révolution française et la féodalité,” 290, n.5.

<sup>74</sup> Mitrany, *Marx Against the Peasant*, 116; Lefebvre, *Questions agraires*, 198.

<sup>75</sup> As one reviewer of several recent books on agricultural growth says, “Aggregism and technism are secondary manifestations of urbanism. Urbanism is the belief . . . that a policy should be judged primarily for its effect on urban welfare, rather than on the welfare of the people as a whole. This view pervades the modern literature of rural development.” *Times Literary Supplement*, Dec. 19, 1968, p. 1422. The reviewer also warns the modern social researcher not to ignore the unpredictability of peasant psychology and not to expect an automatic, favorable response to capitalist incentives.

<sup>76</sup> See Bloch, “La lutte pour l’individualisme agraire.”

<sup>77</sup> See Chanzéaux: *A Village in Anjou*, ed. L. Wylie (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 81–83 on the *Statut de Fermage* passed in 1946 that finally gave the *fermier* security of tenure. The entire section entitled “Farming” exposes institutional and psychological problems with great clarity.

<sup>78</sup> Chabert, *Essai sur les revenus*, 66–76.

agricultural improvers, it was more likely to be on new land of their own and not the land they still leased.<sup>79</sup>

Yet even had the *fermier* obtained formal security of tenure, would this have been enough to stimulate production in any appreciable way? Something more would have to change. A larger number of peasant cultivators would have to abandon the exclusive notion that the land was an extension of the family, and a larger number of landlords would have to give up the policy of milking the land in order to live *noblement* on the banks of the Seine. This, more than birth control or legal limits on fragmentation, would be essential to an agricultural revolution.

<sup>79</sup> Calignon, former tenant of Duc de Saulx-Tavanes, emerged in a prefectural report of 1801 as an improving farmer (*propriétaire*) on his own land, purchased in 1793. When the Duke's land was put on sale, Calignon bought about ten per cent of his domain at Arc-sur-Tille near Dijon. A.D. (Côte d'Or), Saulx-Tavanes Papers.



# The Shanghai Crisis of 1932: The Basis of British Policy

CHRISTOPHER THORNE

THE Sino-Japanese clash at Shanghai posed fundamental questions for those responsible for Britain's Far Eastern policy. During the brief period when fighting threatened an area containing £150 million-worth of British business interests and four thousand British women and children, responses both to Japanese militarism and to Chinese nationalism had to be defined more sharply than at any time since the outbreak of the Far Eastern crisis in September 1931. A new wave of criticism was directed against the government's attitude toward the League and collective security. And, as a result of the proposal by the US secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson, for a joint Nine-Power-Treaty declaration against any despoiling of China, the issue of Anglo-American cooperation became the subject of recrimination and confusion for some time to come.<sup>1</sup>

Following the opening of the official records in London, a closer examination is now possible of the problems and priorities of decision makers there who have sometimes been dismissed as simply pro-Japanese, anti-American, and indifferent to the fate of the League and of China. In passing, it may briefly be stated that Stimson's controversial proposal for a joint *démarche*, described in the Foreign Office as "typically American and intended for home consumption,"<sup>2</sup> was deliberately avoided and that Stimson, despite other inaccuracies, was correct in his subsequent contention that Britain "preferred to take refuge in the inconspicuousness of League action." In essence, however, this and other decisions taken in London during the Shanghai fighting had been pre-empted some time before. "The search for decision," writes Samuel Huntington, "is often a search for constraints,"<sup>3</sup> and by the end of January 1932 those responsible for policy had found these constraints. Their images of the international environment, of the Far Eastern situation, and of Britain's capabilities and interests were not to be significantly altered by what then occurred in Shanghai, nor by suggestions then received from Washington. The priorities by which they would screen and order

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, E. E. Morison, *Turmoil and Tradition* (Boston, 1960), 392-93. Echoes of the controversy in 1934 and 1935 will be found in box 17 of the Norman Davis Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> FO 371, F 1156/1/10. (Records of the Foreign Office [FO], cabinet [Cab.], Admiralty [Adm.], and Prime Minister's Office [PM], all in the Public Record Office [PRO], are designated by their PRO classification.) The writer hopes to provide elsewhere a detailed study of the Shanghai episode itself, together with other Western aspects of the Far Eastern crisis.

<sup>3</sup> *The Common Defense* (New York, 1961), 250.



the flood of messages that descended upon them during that episode were already established.

This is not to say that such priorities had been explicitly agreed upon. As usual the process was a more muddled one, particularly so since the crisis was located in an area where international politics had become notably disjointed following the Washington Conference of 1921–22.<sup>4</sup> For some time after the Mukden incident, in fact, those who formulated British policy had been able—to their own satisfaction, though by no means to that of their critics—to reconcile within that policy a number of potentially conflicting elements: not to provoke Japan and yet to uphold the Covenant of the League; not to provoke Japan and yet to preserve the good will of China; not to provoke Japan and yet to work closely with the United States. But underlying these discordant themes were strong, implicit priorities. What the Shanghai episode did was to bring out the latent contradictions between various desiderata of British Far Eastern policy and to force the subordination of some—preserve the good will of China; work closely with the United States—to another—avoid provoking Japan. This article seeks to establish when and how the basis for this ultimate and uncomfortable decision was laid.

The main lines of British policy over the Far Eastern crisis were given the seal of cabinet approval on November 11, 1931. Opinion in the Foreign Office was already pointing strongly in the same direction,<sup>5</sup> but the cabinet, as the ultimate decision-making body, had until then confined itself to noting generalities about “securing a withdrawal of troops behind a certain line, as laid down in the Model Treaty.” Now, however, the subject had become more urgent. Japan clearly had no intention of complying with the League Council’s resolution of October 24, which, although technically invalidated by the negative vote of Japan herself, called upon Tokyo to withdraw its troops to the zone of the South Manchurian Railway by November 16. In this situation the rough notes scribbled down by the foreign secretary, Sir John Simon, at this cabinet meeting epitomized what was to be the government’s basic position up to, and beyond, the Japanese withdrawal from the League in March 1933:

Policy—conciliatory to Japan.

To China: Don’t rely *solely* on others: play your own part.

Don’t seek to transfer to Art. 16.

To Japan: We don’t *want* to apply sanctions.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See A. Iriye, *After Imperialism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 302–03.

<sup>5</sup> The impotence of the Foreign Office for much of the interwar period has often been commented upon. See, for example, *The Diplomats*, ed. Gordon Craig and Felix Gilbert (Princeton, 1960); Sir Walford Selby, *Diplomatic Twilight* (London, 1952); and Christopher Thorne, *The Approach of War, 1938–1939* (London, 1967). During the Far Eastern crisis, however, a new and heterogeneous cabinet was concerned above all with domestic and European matters, and it was in any case in general agreement with the limitations and priorities of policy as put forward by senior Foreign Office officials. These officials were thus able to exercise a substantial influence upon the detailed formulation, as well as the execution, of that policy.

<sup>6</sup> FO 371, F 7596/1391/10. As will be indicated below, however, it is wrong to think of Simon as simply “pro-Japanese” at this time. It was both a strength and a weakness, leading to vacillation,

The Council's deadline, observed Simon to his colleagues, was "a serious step because the League had no means to make it effective." Moreover, while the United States was supporting the League's general attitude, "it would be wrong to assume that they would participate in putting pressure on Japan." The Corfu incident had shown the impracticability of the kind of sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant, and to withdraw ambassadors would be equally unwise: "The only way to exercise any influence on the Japanese Government was to keep a representative of high standing at Tokyo."

The cabinet approved this line of reasoning.

The League of Nations should be upheld. The Cabinet recognised, however, *inter se*, that the sanctions provided for in Article XVI were not suitable and could not in practice be applied in the present case. . . . In a word, the policy of the United Kingdom representative [at the League] should be one of conciliation, with an avoidance of implied threats. [Simon was especially asked to bear in mind] the importance of not giving the Japanese hostile press any excuse to place the odium for the initiative on this country. . . .<sup>7</sup>

"The only thing the Council can do," Simon wrote to MacDonald a week later, is to avoid threatening Sanctions and to give good advice and to appeal to everybody to behave. . . . If the Manchurian situation is one which League authority cannot clear up it is a pity. But it would be much better I think for the League to face that fact, if it is a fact, and to tell Japan that whatever may be her economic or practical case the League cannot as a League confirm the continuance of Japanese troops on Chinese Territory and regrets that it is not possible owing to Japanese opposition to reach a unanimous and effective conclusion. This is not satisfactory but . . . it is better than pretending (what nobody believes) that the League is really in a position to control the situation.<sup>8</sup>

These basic decisions rested in part upon a powerful and ever-present awareness of Britain's material weakness. The country had been forced off gold on September 21; there were between two and a half and three million unemployed; and the value of exports for that year had dropped to 53.6 per cent of the 1929 figure. While it is now possible to conclude that the British depression was of limited economic significance, in terms of foreign policy analysis it remains important that contemporaries thought they were clawing their way from the brink of catastrophe and that this overwhelming and immediate issue must take precedence over events on the other side of the world. Indeed it took precedence over any formulation of policy on a long-term basis. As MacDonald wrote to Baldwin on December 3, 1931, "We have all been so distracted by day to day troubles that we have never had a chance of surveying the whole situation and

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that his mind was capable of seeing many points of view. He was concerned for the League and for China and for Anglo-American cooperation, while keenly aware of the damage Japan could do to British interests. The minutes printed in *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, 2d Ser. (hereafter *DBFP*), IX (London, 1965), no. 21, illustrate his desire to avoid too meek a line with Tokyo. The corrective offered to the usual view of Simon by R. Bassett, in his *Democracy and Foreign Policy* (London, 1953), is excessive and uncritical, however.

<sup>7</sup> Cab. 23/69.

<sup>8</sup> *DBFP*, VIII (London, 1960), no. 746. Simon spoke to similar effect at the cabinets of November 25 and December 10. Cab. 23/69.

hammering out a policy . . . but have had to live from agitation to agitation.”<sup>9</sup>

The Treasury in particular was pressing throughout the period for priority to be given to financial considerations and reacted swiftly to any suggestions of the need for a greater degree of military preparation in the Far East. Even when Britain’s helplessness in the face of a Japanese attack had been startlingly revealed by the Committee of Imperial Defence, the chancellor of the exchequer, Neville Chamberlain, remained adamant:

The fact is that in the present circumstances we are no more in a position financially and economically to engage in a major war in the Far East than we are militarily. . . . What has to be considered, therefore, is one set of risks balanced against the other, and the Treasury submits that at the present time financial risks are greater than any other that we can estimate.<sup>10</sup>

It is not, perhaps, surprising to find that Chamberlain was one of those who deeply regretted the loss of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and that he came to be a leading exponent of the case for repairing strained relations with Tokyo as a matter of urgency.

The danger of further crippling Britain—together with the Commonwealth—economically and financially was one factor behind the decision to rule out any attempt to coerce Japan by sanctions of this kind. That serious damage to one’s own interests would ensue was assumed, rather than substantiated in detail, when the decision was taken, though specific considerations were already being explored. This accepted view was subsequently reinforced, however, by the report of a subcommittee of the Committee of Imperial Defence circulated to the cabinet on March 9, 1932. Nations of the Commonwealth, concluded the report, together with British colonies, “would be the first to be affected by the application of economic sanctions, whose double-edged effect would be immediate and severe.”<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the belief that without the cooperation of the United States in particular—a country accounting for roughly one-third of Japan’s external trade—sanctions would be futile had from the outset been accompanied in the Foreign Office by the conviction that “at the first whisper of the word . . . [the United States] would publicly dissociate itself from further cooperation with the League.”<sup>12</sup> Attempts through Sir Ronald Lindsay in Washington to elicit a clear statement of the position of the United States on the matter evoked only a

<sup>9</sup> Baldwin Papers, vol. 46, Cambridge University. See Neville Chamberlain to his sisters: “This has been a terrible week,” Sept. 19, 1931, “a most anxious and harrowing week,” Oct. 4, 1931, in Mrs. Dorothy Lloyd’s collection of Chamberlain Papers. In this early period Chamberlain did not once refer to the Far Eastern crisis.

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum of Mar. 17, 1932, CP 105(32), in Cab. 24/229.

<sup>11</sup> CP 92 (32), in Cab. 24/228. For details of the Japanese position, see C. G. Allen, *A Short Economic History of Modern Japan* (London, 1962); on the importance to Australia of her wheat, beef, milk-foods, and wool trade with Japan (eighty-two per cent of Japan’s wool imports came from Australia in 1932; Australian exports to China were small by comparison), see E. M. Gull, *British Economic Interests in the Far East* (London, 1943), 121–23, 154. Sir Samuel Hoare, secretary of state for India, revealed to his colleagues on the Far Eastern Committee of the cabinet that the effect of sanctions would hit India severely, since her exports to Japan were double her imports from that country. Minutes of Mar. 8, 1932, in Cab. 27/482.

<sup>12</sup> FO 371, F 6091/1391/10.

"completely non-committal" response from Stimson and left the ambassador and London firm in the accurate belief that "sanctions . . . would be entirely abhorrent to [the] United States Government."<sup>13</sup>

The belief that sanctions were impracticable against Japan at the time was also, for some politicians and officials, only further proof that sanctions were at all times a regrettable feature of the League Covenant. This attitude can be seen as lying within the same tradition as Britain's rejection of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol, and it matched the opinion of the Dominions. J. H. Thomas, secretary of state for dominion affairs, was to remind the cabinet of this in a memorandum of March 10, 1932, adding his own conviction that "the existence of the Sanction provisions have [*sic*] merely been an embarrassment, and a hindrance to the preservation of peace rather than a help," and recalling his trade-union experience that voluntary conciliation, not compulsory arbitration, was the road to a lasting settlement.<sup>14</sup> Another—with a very different background—who argued along similar lines within Whitehall was the ubiquitous and omniscient secretary to the cabinet, Sir Maurice Hankey. Sanctions should be "got rid of," he wrote to a friend in February 1932, and he was only too glad "that the utter futility of the present Covenant has been demonstrated in the Far East, where by a reasonably adroit policy we should be able to avoid the consequences falling on ourselves, instead of in Europe, where we might get involved."<sup>15</sup>

But the strongest and most immediate reason for avoiding the least hint of sanctions against Japan was the belief that they were likely to lead to an armed clash with that country. In Viscount Cecil's opinion, this "fear of complications" and "fear of every shadow," as he put it, was "the motive of British hesitation, deplorable as it is, . . . not the desire to shield Japan."<sup>16</sup> And in this respect—students of "linkage politics" will not be surprised to learn—the decision makers' image of Japan's public opinion, together with their image of American opinion, was of greater significance than their view of what their own electorate was thinking. The Japanese government would be forced to fight, not only by their

<sup>13</sup> DBFP, VIII, nos. 717, 719, 748. See H. L. Stimson, *The Far Eastern Crisis* (New York, 1936), 76, 83, and *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter FRUS), 1932, III (Washington, 1948), 452–53. It is ironical to recall Hoover's similar conviction that Britain would never adopt sanctions, though his methods of sounding out the British position were more slapdash. See his *Memoirs, 1920–1933* (London, 1952), 367. Each side could thus happily write their reminiscences blaming the other for the West's failure to take a course of action that neither of them had the slightest intention of adopting in any case.

<sup>14</sup> CP 95 (32), in Cab. 24/228. Thomas' insistent warnings against any risk of a clash with Japan is one of the several qualifications that need to be made to the notion that British policy was dictated solely by pro-Japanese Tories in the cabinet. This was widely believed by American politicians and diplomats at the time and has been accepted by most American historians ever since.

<sup>15</sup> Cab. 21/368.

<sup>16</sup> Letter to Philip Noel-Baker, Mar. 12, 1932, in Cecil of Chelwood Papers, vol. XXXVII, British Museum. Cecil regarded the view that Japan would fight as "simply nightmare" (letter of Apr. 29, 1932, *ibid.*), but he was eventually forced to recognize, in somewhat muddled fashion, that "force alone would have turned [Japan] from her purpose." Lord Cecil, *A Great Experiment* (London, 1941), 332. See this writer's forthcoming article, "Lord Cecil, the Government, and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1931," to appear in the *Historical Journal* during 1971.

army, but because there was a widespread conviction that Manchuria was of vital interest to the nation.<sup>17</sup> Those Americans who wanted strong action to be taken against Japan were only a noisy minority.<sup>18</sup> Hence it was no more than additional comfort when it was concluded that the majority of the British public had no wish to take action in any case.<sup>19</sup>

An important factor in reinforcing the conviction that Japan would fight rather than submit to the pressure of sanctions was the stream of dispatches to this effect that flowed into the Foreign Office from Sir Francis Lindley in Tokyo. His warning was unambiguous: "Application of sanctions would result in war, but Japan is considered to have nothing to fear from the United States fleet and not much from combined fleets." His plea was equally forthright: "that I be authorised to inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs confidentially that His Majesty's Government will not countenance sanctions." And while his plea met with refusal, his warning appears to have been accepted without question. As Sir Robert Vansittart, permanent under-secretary at the Foreign Office, minuted on a memorandum that was circulated to the cabinet: "the conclusion . . . would seem to be that we cannot contemplate, in any circumstances, the severance of economic and diplomatic relations, unless we are also eventually prepared for war."<sup>20</sup> In this respect there developed in the early part of 1932 a marked difference between Washington and London. Both capitals were receiving broadly similar analyses and recommendations from their ambassadors in Japan. The Foreign Office chose to give great weight to these communications in preparing advice for the cabinet, reinforcing as they did the predominant images of the situation that already existed in London. For Secretary Stimson, however, being, as he admitted, in a "not very pacific frame of mind," warnings from Tokyo had come to lose much of their significance as compared to what he saw as the dictates of legality and morality in international politics and as compared to the advice he was getting from his minister in China regarding the likely consequences of defeat and despair in that country.<sup>21</sup> This contrast in the ordering of information

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, *DBFP*, VIII, no. 531, IX, no. 239; FO 371, F 6439/1391/10.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, *DBFP*, IX, no. 42.

<sup>19</sup> For example, J. H. Thomas, in his cabinet memorandum on the Dominions' view of sanctions, added: "If my reading of public opinion in this country is correct, the above view is very widely shared here." CP 95 (32). Hoare wrote to Simon on September 11, 1932: "I am sure that the great body of centre and right opinion in this country will not tolerate anything that can be construed into aggressive or hostile action against Japan." Simon Papers, in FO 800/287. Simon himself felt able to suggest to the cabinet in February 1933 that "British public opinion hitherto had perhaps been somewhat pro-Japanese"—adding that it was "likely to change" if Japan were to occupy Tientsin and Peking. Cab. 23/75. "The bulk of 'civilised' opinion," wrote Vansittart in January 1932—"and the uncivilised are untroubled by opinions—was with Japan." Memorandum of 1.1.32, in Vansittart Papers, Churchill College, Cambridge. There may well have been an element of wishful thinking in such images of public opinion. But even Cecil—alas for the nineteenth-century liberal's belief in the rightness and efficacy of public opinion—found "the richer class very unsound and the poorer class very ignorant" over the Far East. Letter to Philip Noel-Baker, Mar. 7, 1932, Cecil Papers, vol. XXXVII.

<sup>20</sup> *DBFP*, IX, nos. 216, n., 321, 614.

<sup>21</sup> For an example of the emphasis placed on reports from Tokyo in London, see *ibid.*, no. 419. On Stimson's frame of mind and his attitude toward the warnings of Ambassador Forbes, see *FRUS*, 1932, III, 251–52, 341–46, 364–65.

lay close to the heart of Anglo-American disagreements over the desirability of taking a stand on what Stimson later termed "the ethical significance of the controversy."

The threat of war might possibly have carried less weight with decision makers who felt sure of their own military superiority. To men who saw themselves as "practically impotent," it was decisive. "By ourselves," wrote Vansittart, "we must eventually swallow any and every humiliation in the Far East."<sup>22</sup>

Britain's military weakness at this time involved her ability to meet any of her commitments, not simply those in the Far East. Moreover, in the shape of the "ten year rule" the financial and ideological pressures within the country for a reduced level of armaments continued to receive a large measure of official acknowledgment. In June 1931, after considering Foreign Office surveys of the international scene, the Committee of Imperial Defence had again agreed "that it should be assumed for the purposes of framing the estimates of the fighting Services that at any given date there will be no major war for ten years."<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in so far as there had been some uneasiness behind the decision, it related to growing difficulties in Europe and in no way to a possible clash in the Far East. The Foreign Office *tour d'horizon* of May 1931 had concluded that

nothing of importance has occurred during the past year to disturb the excellent relations existing between Great Britain and Japan. . . . In Manchuria there have been indications that Japan would be prepared to discuss outstanding questions regarding railways with the Chinese, and they have made it known that they do not wish outside countries to interfere in any way.

Similarly, in a list of British commitments prepared in June, the Foreign Office had also observed that, according to frequent and public Japanese statements, "the lapse of the Anglo-Japanese alliance has made little difference between the two countries"; the only questions that "might be said to disturb—though not to any serious degree—the cordial relations which exist . . . are Singapore and immigration." The memorandum pronounced both to be happily dormant.<sup>24</sup>

In any event, and regardless of whatever analyses might be made of Japanese intentions, the military situation in the Far East placed Britain in a markedly inferior position. For her, as for the United States, the Washington agreement that had called a halt to the fortification of Guam, the Philippines, Hongkong, and other potential Anglo-American bases had "virtually ruled out the possibility of

<sup>22</sup> *DBFP*, IX, nos. 400, 238, n.

<sup>23</sup> CP 167 (31), in Cab. 24/222.

<sup>24</sup> CP 317 (31), in Cab. 24/225. The British Admiralty had long been concerned with its lack of strength in the Far East, and Captain S. W. Roskill concludes that "no aspect of a war with Japan was ignored or neglected in Whitehall." *Naval Policy Between the Wars*, I (London, 1968), 537; see also 404, 420. On the other hand Churchill, as chancellor of the exchequer, had been a leading critic of what he considered the Admiralty's alarmist views over Japan (*ibid.*, 446, 464), and the Committee of Imperial Defence had concluded in 1925 that an attack by Japan on the British Empire within ten years was "not a contingency to be seriously apprehended." *Ibid.*, 450.



conducting offensive naval operations against Japan in her own waters.”<sup>25</sup> In the words of the first sea lord in April 1931, the situation

would seem to render [Japan] secure against serious naval interference by any other power. It is clear that [she] intends to incur no risks in regard to her naval security. . . . The number of our capital ships is now so reduced that should the protection of our interests render it necessary to move our Fleet to the East, insufficient vessels of this type would be left in Home Waters to insure the security of our trade and territory in the event of any dispute arising with a European Power.<sup>26</sup>

It was highly unlikely, moreover, that the main fleet could be moved to the Far East if Japan were determined to forestall such a threat. The use of the Singapore base would be essential for refuelling and repair; yet it lay wide open to a pre-emptive strike. First authorized in 1921, work on the base had thereafter been subjected to a plethora of reconsiderations in London—abandoned and restarted in 1924; slowed down in 1928; slowed down and suspended where possible in 1929. In 1930 a special committee consisting of Snowdon, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the prime ministers of Australia and New Zealand reported to the Imperial Conference their acceptance of a British proposal that “the expenditure required for completing the equipment of the docks and for defence works should be postponed for the next five years.” George W. Forbes, the prime minister of New Zealand, concurred only “with reluctance” and with the comment that “without the Base the Fleet would be powerless in Far Eastern waters.” But, like James H. Scullin of Australia, he had to defer to the financial arguments that had been advanced, arguments far more powerful than their accompanying political syrup to the effect that the improved machinery for settling disputes, together with the “deterrent effect” of the depression, “rendered an outbreak of war very unlikely during the next ten years.” “Japan in particular,” ran the British submission, “having joined . . . in signing the London Naval Treaty [is] unlikely to disturb the peace.”<sup>27</sup>

As in the case of economic sanctions, the unhesitating acceptance by the decision makers of the view that Britain was in no position to risk an armed clash with Japan was to receive detailed confirmation toward the end of the crisis at Shanghai, when a report by a chiefs of staff subcommittee on the Far East

<sup>25</sup> A. W. Griswold, *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New York, 1938), 317. See R. G. O'Connor, *Perilous Equilibrium* (Lawrence, 1962), 10.

<sup>26</sup> CP 100 (31), in Cab. 24/220. This is not the place to analyze at length Baldwin's musings in May 1932 on the possibility of abolishing all battleships, musings that were to so alarm Stimson and the State Department. See US Department of State file 500. A15 A4. Let it briefly be said, however, (1) that Baldwin made it clear he was thinking of a package that would have to include the abolition of other weapons, including submarines and bombers, that would greatly have increased the security of the British Isles; (2) that Stimson's belief in the power of the main US Fleet vis-à-vis Japan far outran the facts of the situation (see, for example, the papers of the US Army-Navy Joint Board, 305, 325); and (3) that supposing battleships, aircraft carriers, and submarines had been abolished, there would have remained the possibility of strangling Japan's overseas commerce by the use of cruisers; Britain had cruisers but no battleships in the Far East in 1932. This is not to suggest that Baldwin had such a strategy in mind. He was concerned with Britain's vulnerability at home as well as the financial implications of a failure to achieve a substantial measure of disarmament.

<sup>27</sup> Cab. 32/91.



was circulated to the cabinet, together with the chiefs of staff annual review for 1932. This report was then circulated to the cabinet on March 17 and considered by the Committee of Imperial Defence five days later. The two documents made grim reading. Naval units in the Far East included nothing larger than ten thousand-ton, eight-inch gun cruisers, and the main force was moored in the Whangpoo River, "incapable, either of resistance to the Japanese fleet of capital ships, or of escape from this cul-de-sac, unless they receive sufficient warning to enable them to reach the open sea." Hongkong was virtually defenseless, and Singapore was "not in much better case":

The defences of Keppel Harbour are out of date and not sited to defend the naval base. Apart from one or two 9.2" guns, which are unsuitably sited and two 6" guns, a single squadron of twelve torpedo bombers and a squadron of four flying boats constitute the sole defence for the floating dock and large oil reserve. There are not enough anti-aircraft guns and no boom defences, anti-submarine defences or mines. . . . At Trincomali also, the naval oil supplies required for the movement of the Main Fleet to the East are totally unprotected. . . . The whole of our territory in the Far East, as well as the coastline of India and the Dominions and our vast trade and shipping lies open to attack. . . . Normally our battle fleet would require thirty-eight days from the zero hour in which to reach Singapore. . . . But in their present weak state [Singapore and other ports] would be liable to capture, or at least to the destruction of their facilities, before the arrival of the Fleet.<sup>28</sup>

It is interesting to note that many senior British officers were bemoaning the loss of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and dwelling upon the need to re-establish close relations with that country. As with Chamberlain at the Treasury, Thomas at the Dominions Office, and Sir Samuel Hoare at the India Office, the exigencies of a man's immediate departmental responsibilities may well have been the dominant factor behind his advocacy of such a policy, although it would be extremely difficult to separate and measure accurately this element as distinct from, say, personal experiences and memories or from such predilections as a serving officer's admiration for the disciplined and tenacious qualities of the Japanese forces as opposed to the apparent chaos of the Chinese.<sup>29</sup>

There is, however, no evidence to suggest that service opinion of this kind ever had a direct influence on major British decisions taken during the events of 1931-33. It is of significance only in that, together with the views of various permanent officials like Wellesley in the Foreign Office or those of a cabinet minister like Chamberlain at the Treasury, it helped to create a general climate of opinion in and around Whitehall and that this climate in turn enabled Japanese actions against China to be interpreted in such a way as not to trouble unduly the conscience of an onlooker. But wherever personal sympathies lay, the virtually unchallenged view among those close to the policy-making process was that there was "no limit to the damage which Japanese hostility could do to [Britain]," whose

<sup>28</sup> CP 104 (32), in Cab. 24/229.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, CP 362 (32), in Cab. 24/234.

Far Eastern interests were "largely dependent on Japanese good-will." As Baldwin was to put it to the Committee of Imperial Defence in June 1932: "If the Japanese ever 'ran amok,' we would, in present circumstances, be helpless."<sup>30</sup>

However great the conflict with other policy goals, this was the consideration, the consideration of immediate self-preservation, that predominated. There is, however, no iron law of policy formulation by which this consideration alone, regardless of other factors, led inevitably to the decision that followed. Granted that the perception in London of Britain's weakness and of Japan's determination was accurate, other considerations can still be postulated that might, in theory, have resulted in a willingness to accept the sacrifice of, say, Hongkong, Singapore, and Malaya, together with British interests in Shanghai and Japan, in the pursuit of some more highly-valued goal and in the hope of achieving that goal through victory in a long-term conflict.<sup>31</sup> Why not concentrate all one's available and potential resources for the task of preserving China's territorial and administrative integrity, an integrity the powers had pledged themselves to respect at the Washington Conference, just as one had, ostensibly, fought in 1914 over the guarantee of 1839 that the powers would respect Belgian neutrality? Why not risk a war in order to uphold the League of Nations and its code of international behavior? Why not at all costs preserve and rely upon a complete alignment with the United States?

In the light of our knowledge of domestic opinion and international politics at the time, such questions appear almost too naive to be worth answering. But they serve to lead the inquiry outward, from the central consideration of power to other issues that were related to it and were bound up in the making and the consequences of the decisions taken. First there were the rights and wrongs of the Sino-Japanese clash itself; second, the League of Nations and its place in Britain's foreign policy, together with what might be termed the new morality of international politics, as proclaimed in 1919; third, the value to be put upon the United States as a potential ally, especially in the Far East; and finally, having moved, so to speak, from the central point of the picture to its frame, Britain's foreign policy preoccupations as a whole, within which this particular crisis had to be placed and accorded its degree of priority.

A Foreign Office memorandum of January 1930 summarized British policy toward China "in a very few words":

We have no territorial or imperialist aims. Our first concern is to maintain our position in the trade of China, which is largely bound up with the prosperity of Hongkong and the fortunes of the Maritime Customs Administration, and to secure adequate protection for British lives, property and business enterprises. Our second concern is to maintain

<sup>30</sup> *DBFP*, IX, no. 239; minutes of Committee of Imperial Defence, June 9, 1932, in Cab. 2/5.

<sup>31</sup> One might have expected, in other words, that the cabinet would have put to their military advisers the question Hoover put to his: How long would it take to defeat Japan, and at what cost? The writer has so far not found evidence of such a question being put.

the principle of the "open door" and equal opportunity for all and to see that China does not fall under the tutelage of any single Power. For these reasons we desire to see a united, well-ordered, prosperous and peaceful China. . . .<sup>32</sup>

This policy had been set out in a memorandum to the other Washington Treaty Powers in December 1926 and in an offer of treaty modification to China in the following month. Thereafter Hankow and other areas had been restored to full Chinese sovereignty, with consequences that were by no means unsatisfactory to Britain, and toward the end of 1930, with only concessions at Tientsin, Amoy, and Canton still outstanding (together with a preponderant share in the International Settlement at Shanghai), it was the British minister, Sir Miles Lampson, who was making the running among Western diplomats in negotiations with the Nanking government for a final agreement on extraterritoriality.

Nevertheless, sympathy for the struggles of Republican China was offset to a considerable degree by other reactions that were to be found among those involved in the British policy-making process. However great the knowledge of China on which these views were based, they were, not surprisingly, Eurocentric and either explicitly or implicitly set European standards by which the progress of Chinese society was to be measured. "In order that these reforms should become a living reality," ran a note from the British to the Chinese government in 1929, "it appears . . . to be necessary that Western legal principles should be understood and be found acceptable by the people at large no less than their rulers. . . ."<sup>33</sup> If China were fortunate and sensible, she would follow in the steps of Japan and "join the club," so to speak. Meanwhile, the images of China and the Chinese that were reflected in the writings of British officials contained affective elements that lacked both confidence and full respect: "I feel more than usually chary of getting into discussions . . . with such numble-witted and unscrupulous folk as our Chinese friends. . . ." "The Chinese after their manner enormously exaggerate what has been happening." "As usual the Chinese sense of reality is deficient." "[It is reported] that there was some sort of understanding between Japan and Canton all through the Manchurian imbroglio, and shocking as it may appear in European eyes, there is nothing inherently im-

<sup>32</sup> *DBFP*, VIII, no. 1. It is important to note that as well as foreseeing the danger of China's "falling under the tutelage of a single Power," this memorandum recognized that "Japan's interests in China [were] so different from those of Great Britain" that the latter "could never count upon the support of Japan, though it [might] sometimes suit her convenience to work with us." Between 1920 and 1930 there was a decline in the value of United Kingdom exports to China, from £57 million to £13 million, and in the volume of those exports by one third between 1913 and 1930—a period in which China's total imports increased by twenty-three per cent. On the other hand British business investments in China, excluding government loans, had risen, according to one estimate, from £82,306,000 in 1914 to £197,961,000 in 1931, Shanghai accounting for £130 million and Hongkong for £35 million of the 1931 figure. Gull, *British Economic Interests*, 110–19. And although the value of British trade with Japan was very similar at the time of the Far Eastern crisis to that with China, the potential of the China trade was generally thought to be much the greater of the two.

<sup>33</sup> *DBFP*, VIII, no. 12. See Stimson, *Far Eastern Crisis*, 14, on "the successful efforts of the American government to educate an oriental people [in the Philippines] in the practices of Western political freedom and social organizations," and George Kennan, *Memoirs* (London, 1967), 384, on MacArthur's pronouncement in 1948 that "the Japanese were thirsty for guidance and inspiration; it was [MacArthur's] aim to bring to them both democracy and Christianity."

probable in [the] story. It illustrates very vividly the kind of snare that awaits the feet of anyone who undertakes to support the cause of China. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

In particular, frequent reports received in London could only reinforce the impression held there of the inadequacy, amounting at times to the total breakdown, of government and order in China before and during the clash with Japan. This impression in turn was to strengthen the sympathy that existed for Japan and her grievances, if not for the methods she adopted in order, apparently, to obtain redress. Expatriates in particular were increasingly warning the British government on the folly of agreeing to a speedy end to extraterritoriality, especially in the case of Shanghai. This did not mean that they were all uncritically pro-Japanese, and many accounts of the Far Eastern crisis by participants and historians have also greatly oversimplified the attitude of business interest in the City in this respect. In fact from September 1931 onward several large companies were urging the Foreign Office of the need to stand firm against a likely Japanese shutting of the Open Door in Manchuria as had happened in Korea; some expatriate opinion was also to be fiercely critical of the Japanese behavior at Shanghai. Nevertheless there was a considerable amount of sympathy among the British in China with the action taken by the Kwantung army. "We are practically to a man on the side of Japan, though she may have been somewhat abrupt," wrote one retired officer toward the end of 1931. "The Japanese," declared one member of the China Association's General Committee during the Shanghai fighting, "are 'pulling the chestnuts out of the fire' for us, and doing, in somewhat crude manner, what we have been asking our Governments to do for a number of years, and what they would have been able to do until quite recently without any bloodshed." The vice-chancellor of Hongkong University observed to Lord Lugard that the Japanese were "not so accustomed to turning the other cheek to the Chinese smiters as we poor British have been forced to become." And during the Shanghai fighting British residents tried to put strong pressure on London to seize the opportunity and force upon the Chinese a new agreement regarding the International Settlement that would extend and safeguard Western interests there for the foreseeable future.<sup>35</sup>

A study of the Foreign Office and cabinet papers throughout the Far Eastern crisis does not suggest that such efforts by expatriate and "City" pressure groups were in any way decisive in the formulation of British policy. It is true that, as defined in general terms, their aim—to preserve British interests in the Far East—

<sup>34</sup> Respectively, *DBFP*, VIII, no. 87; Cecil Papers, vol. XXXVII; FO 371, F 7213/1391/10; *DBFP*, IX, no. 95.

<sup>35</sup> Respectively, FO 371, F 15/1/10; *ibid.*, F 1606/1/10; *ibid.*, F 3076/1/10; *ibid.*, F 3336/1/10; letter from R. E. Wilson, Feb. 11, 1932, and telegram from the Joint Committee of the British Chamber of Commerce and the China Association in Shanghai, Mar. 11, 1932, China Association, General Committee Papers, 1931–32, China Association, London. See also the subsequent comments of Dr. G. H. Blakeslee on his experiences with the Lytton Commission: "The attitude of American businessmen [in Manchuria] who[m] I saw seemed to depend on whether or not they could make any money out of Manchukuo. . . . On the whole [they] gave me the impression of having more sympathy with Manchukuo than any other of the groups we interviewed." *FRUS*, 1932, IV, 149–65.

could be said to coincide with that of the government. But those who advocated a hard line with China as the best means by which to achieve this end were at odds with the advice of the British minister on the spot and with government policy in general.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, it has already been shown that there were considerations standing far higher in the eyes of the decision makers than did expatriate opinion—or indeed the opinion of any other extragovernmental pressure group, such as the anti-Japanese League of Nations Union.

In any event, no private influence was needed to produce in official circles the clear impression of a China that scarcely possessed the basic attributes of a state and, hence, in whose case there were major qualifications to be made to those standards by which one might adjudge, say, a German attack upon Belgium. This was reinforced by the consideration that the Japanese were already in Manchuria by right and were therefore not invading across a clearly defined international frontier. The impression of chaos in China, moreover, was particularly strong in the period immediately before the Shanghai fighting, when the resignations—or simply abdications of responsibility—on the part of ministers and officials in Nanking reached extraordinary proportions. “The puppet Govts. [that is, set up by Japan] in Manchuria are probably the stablest element in China!” was one wry Foreign Office comment in January. “It is clear,” ran another, “that there is now nothing resembling a real Govt. in China.”<sup>37</sup> The government’s policy on the surrender of extraterritoriality had already become far more cautious. What is more, when the Chinese made a desperate attempt to force through that surrender by declaring that they would cease to recognize extraterritorial rights as from January 1, 1932, Simon even found it possible to write that “if special measures of precaution at the various treaty ports of China should be found to be necessary,” Britain would “welcome the cooperation of the Japanese Government in them.” Not surprisingly the foreign secretary had second thoughts in view of the likely repercussions in Geneva and Washington. As Sir John Pratt wrote on January 26: “We are trying to cooperate with Japan without incurring the hostility of China. We are now faced with the problem of how to avoid rebuffing America and at the same time avoid incurring the hostility of Japan. It is a delicate problem.”<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> On March 5, 1932, for example, Lampson reported discussions with the five British members of the Shanghai Municipal Council, who wished to dictate to the Chinese: “a satisfactory measure of settlement extension, to be if necessary extorted by pressure. . . . I have reason to believe that this . . . short sighted view is largely held amongst the British community in Shanghai.” FO 371, F 2166/1/10. Simon replied on March 10: “British policy aims at holding the scales evenly between China and Japan. . . . It would be a very short sighted view to imagine Chinese acquiescence can be gained by taking sides against them.” *Ibid.*, F 2405/1/10.

<sup>37</sup> FO 371, F 159/27/10; *ibid.*, F 209/27/10.

<sup>38</sup> DBFP, VIII, nos. 484, 485; IX, nos. 109, 110, 114, 119, 120, together with the minutes in FO 371, F 466/5/10. As was so often the case, a parallel to British *Realpolitik* lay beneath the idealistic surface of American diplomacy. On December 29, 1931, the chief of the State Department’s Far Eastern Division, Stanley Hornbeck, was “authorized” to raise, off the record, the question of whether Britain would sound out France and Japan over the possibility of “an informal understanding” among the powers for “simultaneous and identical or similar action” should China unilaterally attempt to end extraterritoriality. *FRUS*, 1931, III (Washington, 1946), 928–31. For another example of such

The contradictions within British policy, then, were becoming more acute even before the Shanghai fighting, with Japan as a factor in each of them. Several examples of elite attitudes toward that country have already been cited, together with the considerations on which they rested. Certain additional points need to be made, however. In common with Stimson, British politicians and diplomats had considerable respect for those aspects of Japanese postwar policies represented by Foreign Minister Shidehara and others—support for the League of Nations, the peaceful settlement of disputes with China, and cooperation with the naval powers of the West, even if this entailed sacrifices of the kind made at the London Conference of 1930. Even after Shidehara had been forced from office, the hope continued in some minds that the tradition for which he had stood would reassert itself. This in turn made it all the easier to feel sympathy for Japan's grievances against China, despite having to deplore the behavior of Japan's armed forces. As Simon wrote on November 23, 1931, there was "a wide-spread feeling, which I believe to be justified, that although Japan has undoubtedly acted in a way contrary to the principles of the Covenant . . . she has a real grievance against China."<sup>39</sup>

It must also be added that such sympathy for Japan, together with an anxiety not to antagonize her, was not dependent upon an unawareness of her long-term aim in Manchuria. As early as the beginning of November Sir John Pratt was minuting in the Foreign Office that "the Japanese Army intend to hold on to all they have got," and that they were "attempting to set up puppet governments,"<sup>40</sup> while in his memorandum cited above, Simon allowed for the possibility that Japan was "thinking of some sort of protectorate." Moreover, where information coming into London was unduly at odds with a sympathetic attitude toward Japan—reports that there existed no disorder that might excuse a further military advance, or of Japanese atrocities, or of the anti-Japanese sentiments of the people in Manchuria—it tended to be filtered out before it could reach the higher regions of the policy machine or simply to be overlooked.

Even when the Shanghai episode occurred, involving, as it did, British interests in a far more direct fashion than in Manchuria, the tendency to interpret events in a manner favorable to Japan did not entirely disappear, but coexisted with an increased concern for the consequences of the fighting. It is worth observing the reactions of one man in this respect, those of Sir Victor Wellesley, a deputy under-secretary of state at the Foreign Office; for although he was more markedly pro-Japanese than some of his colleagues, Wellesley can be said to represent the views predominant at the time, and his opinions were more than once brought to the attention of the prime minister or the cabinet as a whole.

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underlying similarities, see Stimson's action in February 1932 to prevent the House Foreign Affairs Committee from debating a resolution that might have been interpreted by Japan as a threat to enforce an arms embargo against her. US Department of State file 811.113/153.

<sup>39</sup> *DBFP*, VIII, no. 769.

<sup>40</sup> FO 371, F 6246/1391/10; *ibid.*, F 6267/1391/10.



Wellesley was not blind to Japanese faults or to possible Japanese ambitions. When news came on January 29 of the attack at Shanghai, he minuted: "There seems scarcely room for doubt that the Japanese have put themselves in the wrong";<sup>41</sup> and a few days later he thought it "highly probable" that the intention of Tokyo was to obtain permanent control of a part of Shanghai, from which to put pressure on the local authorities.<sup>42</sup> Yet on the twenty-ninth—it is not possible to ascertain whether it was before or after writing the above minute—Wellesley had a talk with the prime minister's private secretary that the latter recorded for MacDonald as follows:

Wellesley . . . thinks it is a case for keeping very cool heads, and that it is not unlikely that Japs [*sic*] will have not a bad case. Under the state of emergency declared by the *Municipal Council* the Japs were *bound* to man their sector. While proceeding to do so they were attacked (according to their account). . . .<sup>43</sup>

Three days later Wellesley completed a memorandum on "Anglo-Japanese Relations" that, together with a memorandum by Pratt, was circulated to the cabinet. Wellesley argued that there was much to be said in favor of a Japanese-dominated Manchurian Republic, that Japan was "unattackable by sea or land," and that if her public were to be "exasperated by foreign pressure," then the result might be "something like a fascist movement," and "a policy of adventure far exceeding anything which we have witnessed as yet." In short, Britain should not line up with an untrustworthy America against "her old ally." Wellesley followed this with another memorandum on February 6, a document that Vansittart termed "a powerful and reasoned statement, at least to a large extent, of a case for Japan."<sup>44</sup> As for the Shanghai situation, Wellesley believed that little more could be done there than to await a Japanese victory:

Rightly or wrongly the Japanese cannot and will not stop at a point where agreement will be interpreted by the Chinese as a Japanese defeat. That is the unfortunate situation at the present moment and it is the reason why I believe things will have to take their course until the position is reversed.<sup>45</sup>

That such helplessness could entail a grim prospect for British interests in the long run was acknowledged by many senior members of the Foreign Office. As Sir John Pratt summarized it on February 1, 1932:

If Japan continues unchecked the British will have to retire altogether in the Far East [and] in the end Japan can only be checked by force. Ultimately we will be faced with the alternative of going to war with Japan or retiring from the Far East. A retirement from the Far East might be the prelude to a retirement from India.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *DBFP*, IX, no. 148; FO 371, F 601/1/10. See also *DBFP*, IX, no. 153, where Simon writes to MacDonald on January 29: "I have no doubt . . . that Japan is pursuing an ambitious plan, just as she was in Manchuria."

<sup>42</sup> FO 371, F 713/1/10, containing Wellesley's minute on *DBFP*, IX, no. 228.

<sup>43</sup> PM/1/116, PRO.

<sup>44</sup> *DBFP*, IX, nos. 239, 216, 356; FO 371, F 1033/1/10. Wellesley emphasized throughout the economic aspects of the Far Eastern situation, and his analyses were often penetrating in this respect.

<sup>45</sup> FO 371, F 1572/1/10; Vansittart added to this minute: "I am afraid that this is right."

<sup>46</sup> *DBFP*, IX, no. 238.



Yet the inescapable limitations placed on current policy and the insistent pressure of day-to-day events called forth a search for immediate consolation more strongly than they evoked a survey of future dangers. At cabinet level there was little or no discussion of the likelihood of an eventual clash but rather a general assumption that Anglo-Japanese friendship could be strengthened anew without great difficulty. Within the Foreign Office there was a tendency to emphasize the minimal extent of the damage—or, indeed, the benefits—that current Japanese operations would bring to Britain. In Wellesley's words, "The present situation in Manchuria, observed solely from the standpoint of British interests, need not distress us. On the contrary, the more Manchuria develops under Japanese control the greater will be the opportunity for trade, provided that the 'Door' remains open, *as Japan has promised it will.*" Even at Shanghai, the opinion of the British consul-general once the fighting had started was that a Japanese victory was essential if the International Settlement was to be protected from the ravages that might follow a Chinese triumph: "I am not interested to rescue China from a position to which she has been brought largely by her own folly. One cannot forget that all foreigners and especially British have suffered in recent years from utter incompetency and unjustifiable pretensions of Chinese nationalism." Despite the dissenting opinion of the British minister, Sir Miles Lampson, it was this view of the fighting that the Foreign Office endorsed and that Simon put before the cabinet on February 17: "From the point of view of the security of the Settlement it appeared better that the Japanese should succeed than the Chinese."<sup>47</sup>

Two further and lesser considerations reinforced the decision that it was essential not to condemn and alienate Japan. One was the strength of Commonwealth opinion that lay in that direction. In part this sprang from anxiety as to the military and/or commercial damage that could be wrought by Japan and in part from a dislike of any kind of international coercion on behalf of other states.<sup>48</sup> The other was the uneasy recollection that Britain herself had employed troops in China in the recent past and still sought to defend areas nominally under Chinese suzerainty from the interference of Nanking. However much the analogies with Japanese actions need to be qualified in retrospect, at

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 240, emphasis added; nos. 376, 395, 396, 404, 405, 410, 418, 425; the minutes on FO 371, F 1255/1/10; Cab. 23/70.

<sup>48</sup> For Dominion views in general, see *DBFP*, IX, nos. 640, 667, and CP 95 (32), in Cab. 24/228; for the Aga Khan's plea against provoking Japan into making trouble in India, see *DBFP*, IX, no. 520; for the pro-Japanese views of the New Zealand high commissioner in London, see FO 371, F 8338/1/10; for the pro-Japanese views, expressed during the Shanghai crisis, of ex-Premier Hughes of Australia, see the *Times* (London), Feb. 24, 1932; for the views of the Australian foreign minister in 1934, see M. D. Kennedy, *The Estrangement of Great Britain and Japan* (Manchester, 1969), 320; for Canadian opinion, see US Department of State file 793.94/3978, and for Canadian attempts to soothe an irate Stimson while at the same time following the policy of Britain, see *FRUS*, 1932, IV, 388–90, 405–06, 415–18. The Union of South Africa was openly critical of Japan, however. See, for example, the speech of her delegate at the special assembly of the League in March 1932, in W. W. Willoughby, *The Sino-Japanese Controversy and the League of Nations* (Baltimore, 1935), 296–97. Stimson's image of Dominion opinion at this time was not an accurate one.

the time they were seen as being present by various officials and politicians, both in general terms and in the comparison of Manchuria with Tibet—where Wellesley, for example, found differences only “of degree”<sup>49</sup>—and above all over Shanghai, where twenty thousand British troops had been landed in 1927 to guard against the disturbances that were spreading outward from Hankow. Despite the fact that he recognized there were differences between the two cases, it was this last precedent that repeatedly figured in Simon’s discussions with his colleagues and with Stimson during the Shanghai incident. “If we press our objections too far,” he warned the cabinet’s Far Eastern Committee on February 15, the Japanese “will remind us of what we did in 1927.”<sup>50</sup>

Given these views of China and Japan and of Britain’s capabilities and interests in relation to each of them, the conclusions drawn were (1) that Britain should keep out of the Far Eastern conflict as far as possible, leaving it to be settled between the two parties. “It would be the height of unwisdom for us to interfere,” was how Wellesley put it;<sup>51</sup> and (2) that where Britain could not escape being involved, she should avoid any initiative likely to incur the displeasure of either side and avoid taking “a special and separate attitude” at Geneva. But these intentions could not preserve Britain from being seen as leaning to one side rather than to the other. However impartial her inactivity, it was bound to be interpreted as pro-Japanese by a China that was desperate for outside assistance. And to employ a traditional image, as Simon did, of Britain “holding the scales evenly between China and Japan,”<sup>52</sup> was inappropriate by any interpretation. In the first place, Britain was in no position to “hold the scales” in the Far East as she had sometimes been able to do in Europe; second, the scales were far from “even” as matters stood and only a pro-Chinese commitment beyond Britain’s current capability and intentions could have made them so; and finally, if the notion was that of a strictly impartial holding of the scales of justice, it did not square with the belief that, in the last resort, it was Japan who must be placated, since she could do the greater immediate damage to British

<sup>49</sup> Memorandum of Mar. 1, 1932, in *DBFP*, IX, no. 635. In 1932 the India Office was, indeed, in the words of one Foreign Office minute, “very anxious to make as full use as possible of an opportunity of strengthening their position in Tibet” (FO 371, F 6172/7/10) to the point, if necessary, of “taking strong diplomatic action at Nanking and possibly even of providing further assistance in munitions to the Government of Tibet.” Sir Samuel Hoare to the Foreign Office, Sept. 16, 1932, in *ibid.*, F 6831/7/10. As one member of the Far Eastern Department uncasily pointed out, “theoretically, the Chinese, as the Suzerain Power, have more right to intervene in Tibet than we have. . . . Our critics at Geneva might think they had discovered in our preoccupation over Tibet a motive for what they consider our lukewarm attitude over Japanese aggression in Manchuria.” *Ibid.*, F 7441/7/10. Hoare, as secretary of state for India, was one of those in the cabinet who strongly advocated friendship with Japan and shared the Aga Khan’s distrust of “a so-called democratic China.” Letter from Hoare to Simon, Sept. 11, 1932, in FO 800/287.

<sup>50</sup> Cab. 27/482.

<sup>51</sup> FO 371, F 5031/1391/10.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, F 2405/1/10. In December 1932 Simon described Britain as having to “keep to the middle of the road.” Letter to Baldwin, Baldwin Papers, vol. 118. The State Department believed that British policy in the Far East was influenced by a pro-Japanese France during the Shanghai period, but there are no indications that this was a significant factor, despite the need for close relations with France over debts, reparations, and disarmament.

interests. As the cabinet concluded on November 11, 1931, "Every effort must be made to avoid the Chinese appeal being shifted . . . to Article XVI. If necessary it must be impressed on the Chinese delegate that he must assist the League and not throw the responsibility onto the other members of the Council."<sup>53</sup> In other words, the dominant thought was less of the League—including Britain—assisting China if necessary than of the need for self-preservation and, in a sense, for China to protect the League.

It would be wrong, however, simply to conclude that the National Government was undermining the League with scarcely a troubled glance. The "conspiracy" theory of the failure of the League has had a long run, thanks to the writings of those like Philip Noel-Baker for whom the Covenant was an article of faith, a beacon of hope after the darkness of Armageddon, and nowhere has the theory been more bitterly applied than to the Far Eastern crisis. But to dismiss, for example, the attitude of Lord Reading and his colleagues at the outset of the crisis as being that "it was of relatively small moment what happened in Manchuria"<sup>54</sup> is not only to avoid recognizing how little could be done to stop Japan—Cecil himself was later to admit that "force alone would have turned her from her purpose"—but is also to ignore the dilemma in which Lord Reading, Simon, and others found themselves, genuinely desiring to maintain the League as they did, if only in the hope of obtaining a measure of disarmament and of reassuring France and the successor states in Europe. It was not an act of conscious cynicism when Britain's commitments under the Covenant were regularly placed at the head of the country's obligations,<sup>55</sup> nor when the cabinet concluded that "the League of Nations should be upheld." "A failure by the League to find some way round the difficulty would be nothing short of a calamity," wrote Reading to Vansittart on October 21, 1931. Simon, too, was anxious to see "some vindication of the moral authority of the League," and he believed that if the crisis proved beyond its powers, then at least "an honest confession of weakness on the part of the Council . . . would be better than the cynical abandonment of the fundamental principle, upon which it has been attempting to build . . . an organisation for the preservation of peace."<sup>56</sup> Even one of those Tories who have been frequently attacked for their evil influence upon government policy is to be found writing to Baldwin from Geneva during the Shanghai crisis: "I am sure . . . that it is of the highest importance that we should maintain the League of Nations, and it depends on Great Britain whether the League will develop or whether it will languish."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Cab. 23/69.

<sup>54</sup> Cecil, *A Great Experiment*, 225.

<sup>55</sup> Such a list of commitments, "in order of their importance," will be found, for example, appended to a Foreign Office survey written by Vansittart in May 1931 and circulated to the cabinet in December at the prime minister's request. CP 317 (31), in Cab. 24/225.

<sup>56</sup> FO 800/226; *DBFP*, VIII, nos. 789, 769.

<sup>57</sup> Lord Londonderry, secretary of state for air, especially criticized for his resistance to air disarmament, to Baldwin, Feb. 22, 1932, Baldwin Papers, vol. 118.

The difficulty was, as Vansittart and others recognized, that it was not enough to rest one's foreign policy on the Covenant alone and that other measures were required "to ease and complement our policy of the League." A Foreign Office memorandum of June 1931 had in fact foreseen the possibility of a situation not unlike the one that was to occur in the Far East and had predicted the limitations that were likely to be shown up within international society and at Geneva in consequence:

Only the opposition of some other nation or group of nations can restrain from war a Power which, when an issue vital to itself and insoluble by pacific means is at stake, is ready in principle to fight for it, and is strong enough to hope for success in arms. . . . As things are there seems no present or visible group of nations both willing and able in all eventualities to prevent an outbreak. . . . What [the League] has not so far been called upon to do and what it cannot yet be certainly assumed capable of doing, is to prevent what would be in effect a civil war within itself. . . .<sup>58</sup>

And as for the general wish to raise international politics to a new plane, it had to coexist with the memory of fairly recent acts under the "Old Diplomacy" and with an awareness of the continuing realities of power, sovereignty, and national interest. The desire for change and the awareness of the obstacles varied greatly from one individual to another, but only those who stood at the extremes of belligerent chauvinism or utopian internationalism could avoid altogether what Baldwin described as the "awful dilemma" that ensued.<sup>59</sup>

The result was an ambivalence toward the League and toward international politics in general that was by no means confined to Britain or to the members of its national government. Lord Cecil, for example, when arguing the case for the Draft Model Treaty at a meeting of Foreign Office and service chiefs in 1930, had been asked what would happen if the League, under such a treaty, should wish to prevent the fleet being sent to Singapore in an emergency. According to the minutes, Cecil replied that "unless we agreed we would not be bound to accept the League recommendation. We might have excellent reasons for saying this movement must be carried out for reasons of national security."<sup>60</sup> Japan was to see her action in Manchuria in exactly these terms. And while Lord Reading was to admit to the Japanese ambassador early in the Far Eastern crisis that Britain "might any day be in the same position as . . . Japan if any question arose affecting our particular interests and our obligations under the Covenant," so, too, did General Dawes tell the same ambassador that the con-

<sup>58</sup> CP 167 (31), in Cab. 24/222. See Theodore Roosevelt on Manchuria: "The 'Open Door' policy . . . completely disappears as soon as a powerful nation determines to disregard it, and is willing to run the risk of war rather than forgo its intention." Griswold, *Far Eastern Policy*, 131-32.

<sup>59</sup> T. Jones, *A Diary With Letters* (London, 1953), 93. On February 27, 1932, Baldwin faced the dilemma in these terms: "The very people like Bob Cecil who have made us disarm, and quite right too, are now urging us forward to take action. But where will action lead us?" *Ibid.*, 30. Simon wrote to Cecil in June 1932 of the need for "a judicious mixture of the new League methods and 'the old diplomacy.'" FO 800/287.

<sup>60</sup> Meeting of July 24, 1930, in Cab. 21/348.

cern of the Japanese in Manchuria was "really like the Americans at one time in Nicaragua."<sup>61</sup>

It is hardly surprising, then, that simply to declare that "the keystone of British foreign policy is the League" was in practice recognized to be an inadequate guide amid the pressures and limitations that forced themselves upon the decision makers, however much the latter might desire to see a "kindly earth, lapt in universal law." It was this realization, combined nevertheless with a genuine concern for the League, that led Simon to minute in December 1931: "I quite agree that good relations with Japan are of the first order of requisites, and must be safeguarded; but we must, consistent with this, play our part as a member of the League, and use such influence as we have."<sup>62</sup> That influence was, of course, used at Geneva on the side of caution and a vain attempt at conciliation. Clearly, this was what suited Britain's national interest, and it could certainly be argued that Simon's insistence on "avoiding taking up a position which might seem to prejudge or condemn" was to be reiterated long after the nakedness of Japanese aggression had rendered it absurd, however correct it was in legal terms. But if one recalls the puny military capabilities in the Far East of the major powers of the League, the limited amount of support that could be expected from the United States, and the apparent readiness of Japan to fight for what she considered a vital interest, it is understandable that Simon and his colleagues were able to believe that they were acting in the League's best interests as well as in those of their country.

This was all the more possible since the League did not exist as an independent actor on the international scene; Britain constituted one of its major elements, and priorities established within a purely British context tended to be maintained automatically when thinking in terms of the League. There was concern for the League as the embodiment of an ideal and an awareness of the criticisms of other member states and of League supporters within Britain.<sup>63</sup> Policies were not shaped without some regard—the amount varied greatly—for the likely repercussions at Geneva. But the League did not confront the government with the decisions and proposals of an entirely separate and sovereign body, as was the case with the United States. Because of this, and because of the significance attached in London to the potential role of the United States in the Far East, the dilemma of trying to preserve harmony with that country while not offending Japan was felt more acutely than that of the League versus the national interest or even that of Japan's good will as against China's.

At the outbreak of the Far Eastern crisis strained and at times bitter Anglo-American relations over the question of naval armaments were not long in the

<sup>61</sup> *DBFP*, VIII, nos. 707, 723.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, no. 21, n.

<sup>63</sup> See this writer's article, "The Quest For Arms Embargoes: Failure in 1933," in the October 1970 issue of *Journal of Contemporary History*.

past, while the deeply felt issue of war debts was looming larger as debtor and creditor—each in grave economic difficulties—looked toward December 1932 as the date when the Hoover moratorium would end and Britain's next payment would become due. Yet Whitehall, as well as Washington, now viewed relations as greatly improved, particularly as a consequence of the London Naval Agreement. "The signature of the . . . Treaty," ran a Foreign Office *tour d'horizon* of June 1930,

may be said to mark the end of a difficult phase in Anglo-American relations. . . . It must be the aim of His Majesty's Government . . . to continue the policy . . . of promoting friendly relations with . . . America. This policy has not entailed and does not call for the sacrifice of any essential British interest. It does, however, demand the exercise of much patience, and progress is likely to be slow.<sup>64</sup>

"It is no exaggeration to say," wrote Vansittart a year later, "that Anglo-American relations have probably never before been on a sounder basis than they are at present." And by January 1, 1932, he was welcoming "a degree of cordiality never before attained."

There had been a particular anxiety in London that this cordiality should be maintained over the Far Eastern crisis. Reading was soon hoping for an American initiative to take over from the initial efforts of the League,<sup>65</sup> and he displayed the liveliest alarm when Stimson proposed to withdraw his representative from the meetings of the League Council. Simon, too, believed that Britain "could not afford to upset the United States" in that sphere and other members of the cabinet agreed.<sup>66</sup> Self-interest, far more than sentiment, suggested such an attitude. As Vansittart noted, when confessing that on her own Britain would have to swallow "any and every humiliation in the Far East," "if there is some limit to American submissiveness, this is not necessarily so."<sup>67</sup> But this was to assume, of course, as the 1930 survey had done, that this particular British interest "did not call for the sacrifice" of another, more vital one. It was thought to do so over Shanghai, however briefly, and the price would not be paid.

Cordiality between governments, moreover, could not obscure the section of the British public that, in the words of their ambassador in Washington, "did not very much like the United States."<sup>68</sup> Nor did it mean that America was seen in London as having identical interests or priorities as Britain or as being in any way a dependable ally. Strong reservations in this respect have already been noted with regard to the possibility of employing sanctions against Japan, but they were directed toward American political behavior in general

<sup>64</sup> "The Foreign Policy of the Empire," in Vansittart Papers.

<sup>65</sup> *DBFP*, VIII, nos. 660, 667, 668.

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, Londonderry to Baldwin, Feb. 22, 1932: "I am quite sure that it is of the highest importance that we keep very close to the Americans in all these negotiations [over Shanghai]." Baldwin Papers, vol. 118.

<sup>67</sup> *DBFP*, IX, no. 238, n.

<sup>68</sup> *FRUS*, 1932, III, 196–97.



and not simply toward this issue. Fundamentally they sprang from the gulf between a declining power, pragmatically and somewhat wearily seeking its way through a mass of international entanglements, and a burgeoning power, still able to believe in the practicability of isolationism and still convinced of the efficacy of idealism when it came to curing those ills that somehow persisted in the body politic of the world. In specifically Far Eastern terms, the contrast was emphasized on Britain's side by her very uncertainty as to the limits of American passivity and hence, in Vansittart's words, her inability to have "a long range, or even a short range, policy in the Far East. We must live from hand to mouth";<sup>69</sup> and on the American side, by, if not a long range policy, then a deep-seated emotional and idealistic concern for the progress of China "along the pathway of modern civilisation," as Stimson put it.

The ensuing images and expectations to be found in British minds were exemplified in a survey by Vansittart of May 1931:

We shall doubtless continue to hear much about idealism from across the Atlantic, and to be furnished with many facile but impractical recipes for expediting the arrival of the millennium. But . . . there will be no teething of the Kellogg Pact, or indeed any activity which by any stretch of the imagination could be described as the assumption of an obligation or a responsibility.<sup>70</sup>

"The United States have often let us down," he wrote in his paper of January 1, 1932, thus echoing a Foreign Office minute of the previous October: "The Americans as usual unreliable."<sup>71</sup> "The United States Government," warned Wellesley, "is quite capable of backing out after we had agreed to give our support, leaving us to clear up the resulting mess," and the movement of congressional opinion toward giving the Philippines their independence, in spite of the Japanese menace, added weight to such a view. Simon reminded MacDonald at the end of January 1932 that "*We* have to remember (what America is less concerned with) that Japan is the strongest power in the Pacific. And America always leaves us to do the difficult work vis-à-vis Japan."<sup>72</sup> "You will get nothing out of Washington," observed Baldwin at the height of the Shanghai crisis, "but words, big words, but only words."<sup>73</sup> As for Neville Chamberlain, when Austen Chamberlain wrote to him in December 1932, saying that he "found it difficult to speak or think with any kind of patience about the Americans," the chancellor of the exchequer was to reply:

I, too, am quite disgusted with the Americans. They continually talk about their friendly feelings; they give us endless advice on the way in which we may profit by their friendli-

<sup>69</sup> DBFP, IX, no. 238, n.

<sup>70</sup> CP 317 (31), in Cab. 24/225.

<sup>71</sup> FO 371, F 5912/1391/10.

<sup>72</sup> DBFP, IX, nos. 239, 499, 153, n.

<sup>73</sup> Jones, *A Diary*, 30. On October 7, 1933, Neville Chamberlain was to note in his diary: "S. B. says he has got to loathe the Americans so much that he hates meeting them. . . ." Baldwin in turn told Tom Jones that Vansittart hated Germans "as much as Warren Fisher [permanent under-secretary at the treasury] hates Americans." *Ibid.*, 129.



ness; but when it comes to the point, they never translate into practice any of the hopes which they have inspired.<sup>74</sup>

The main exception to this wave of skeptics was MacDonald who, as he told Neville Chamberlain in August 1931, "thought his name did carry weight in America."<sup>75</sup> By the end of 1932, however, "even the P.M.," according to Chamberlain, was to be "furious with [the Americans] at last and all the more so because he has so long believed that they would behave like gentlemen out of personal regard for himself."<sup>76</sup>

It is not the purpose of this article to examine the nature of the distrust that flowed across the Atlantic in a reverse direction. Suffice it to say that it, too, was deep and extensive,<sup>77</sup> and that it had in no way been reduced in some American minds by Britain's refusal, early in January 1932, to join Stimson in declaring the non-recognition of any agreements between Japan and China that impaired the existing treaty rights of others or that had been brought about by means contrary to the Kellogg-Briand Pact. On the British side, there was to be some belated recognition that the episode had been clumsily handled, but there remained a deep-seated disinclination to indulge in flourishes of principle that, however soothing to the conscience, were unlikely to alter the situation on the ground and that might well restrict a freedom of diplomatic maneuver that was already severely limited.

The caution with which Britain treated this and subsequent proposals from Stimson must, finally, be viewed within the context of the country's overall foreign policy preoccupations. If one excludes the mounting pressure of Indian affairs that followed the Round Table Conference, these preoccupations were centered on Europe and were concerned with what a Foreign Office memorandum of November 1931 set out as a series of interlocking problems:

The *monetary crisis* leads inevitably back to the *economic chaos* in Europe. The economic chaos and all attempts to deal with it, involve in their turn the political questions of *reparations and war debts*. These are linked by the United States with the question of *disarmament*, and the latter, in the eyes of the French Government, depends upon the problem of *security*. The problem of security in its turn raises the question of the

<sup>74</sup> Letters of Dec. 8, 9, 1932, in Austen Chamberlain Papers, Birmingham University, AC 39/1-6. The immediate cause of these outbursts was the debt issue.

<sup>75</sup> Neville Chamberlain Diary, Aug. 23, 1931.

<sup>76</sup> Letter of Nov. 26, 1932, Neville Chamberlain Papers. MacDonald was thoroughly devious over the Shanghai Nine-Power-Treaty affair. The decision not to sign with America was taken on February 15 at a meeting of the cabinet's Far Eastern Committee chaired by MacDonald at the Park Lane nursing home, where he was convalescing after an eye operation. Cab. 27/482. At Geneva in April, however, MacDonald told Stimson that, being ill at the time, he had known nothing of this opposition to joining Washington in a *démarche*, and that he was horrified to hear of it. Stimson Diary, Apr. 21, 1932. This lie accords with MacDonald's character as depicted, for example, in Leonard Woolf's autobiography.

<sup>77</sup> It is worth noting, however, that the chief of the State Department's Far Eastern Division was well aware of the reasons that would prevent Britain's making known any strong disapproval of Japanese actions. Hornbeck's appraisal of a weary and defensive Britain was in striking and accurate contrast to one by the Western European Division, which foresaw a revival of Palmerstonian diplomacy and jingoism after the Conservative electoral triumph in 1931. US Department of State files 793.94/3610 3/5, 841.00/1220.

*territorial status quo* in Europe (e.g. the Eastern Frontier question), which brings up the conflict between the *maintenance or revision of the Peace Settlements*. . . . No matter at what link we touch [this] chain, we cannot find any satisfactory holding place until we have reviewed this whole series of problems.

"Our immediate aim," concluded the document, "is *European* recovery."<sup>78</sup>

Given this daunting outlook near at home, together with American passivity and British military weakness in the Far East, it followed that the government would choose the path of caution during the Shanghai crisis. Thoroughly alarmed by a situation that Baldwin described privately as a "nightmare," they felt unable to join Stimson in what amounted to an indictment, and they concentrated instead on trying to limit the consequences of the fighting through mediation on the spot. It was neither a striking nor a courageous policy; but within those limitations that were to last until Pearl Harbor, it was a realistic one. It is arguable, moreover, that it achieved at least as much as did the celebrated letter to Senator Borah that Stimson was to make the alternative vehicle for his declaration "on the morality of this great situation."<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Cab. 27/476.

<sup>79</sup> Stimson Diary, Feb. 18, 1932, where the secretary confided his fears that the fighting might cease before such a pronouncement could be made. To the Foreign Office this would have appeared a *reductio ad absurdum*.

## Preparing the Public for War: Efforts to Establish a National Propaganda Agency, 1940-41

RICHARD W. STEELE

A PRESIDENT'S ability to bring public opinion into line with his own view of the nature and requirements of the current political situation will frequently determine whether his policies are effective and his political goals fully achieved. This was the challenge that confronted Franklin D. Roosevelt during 1941 as he sought public support for his determination to ensure Hitler's defeat by any means necessary.<sup>1</sup> Public hostility toward the war posed a serious dilemma for the president. He was sorely concerned about the plight of Great Britain, especially after the fall of France in July 1940, and he was anxious to take action to prevent her collapse. Many Americans, however, neither shared his anxiety nor viewed the situation with sufficient urgency to accept American military intervention.<sup>2</sup> Even though the president's speeches, and organizations such as William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies had helped bring most Americans to support all-out material assistance to Britain, the administration was not satisfied. Munitions production lagged behind schedule, in part, at least, because of worker and management apathy toward the European war and its implications for the United States. The same indifference with respect to preparedness and inability to conceive of war as an immediate possibility was also reflected in strong public and congressional opposition to effective draft legislation in 1941 as well as in unrest and a generally low spirit among draftees. These attitudes frustrated administration hopes for limited military intervention, impeded efforts to supply Britain with munitions, and retarded America's own efforts at preparedness. To interventionists in government and out, the nation seemed all but paralyzed in the face of increasing peril. Concerned about the

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<sup>1</sup> Roosevelt expressed his views on political leadership in his famous address to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco in 1932. The presidential aspirant declared that the art of government included "formulating a policy and using the political techniques to attain so much of that policy as will receive general support; persuading, leading, sacrificing, teaching always, because the greatest duty of a statesman is to educate." *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin Roosevelt*, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman, I, *The Genesis of the New Deal, 1928-1932* (New York, 1938), 742-56.

<sup>2</sup> Although since the fall of France an increasingly larger majority of the public countenanced various belligerent actions short of war, as late as November 1941 only about one-third of those polled said they would vote for war immediately. See Hadley Cantril, "Public Opinion in Flux," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, XXII (1942), 136-52.

possibility of a British surrender and its implications for American security, they were perplexed and disturbed by the public's isolationism and apathy and eager to effect a change.

During the first year of the war the president and his supporters relied on the efforts of individuals and private organizations to counter isolationist views and stimulate active public support for a bolder program of aid to the Allies.<sup>3</sup> The stunning success of the German Blitzkrieg in the spring and summer of 1940, however, suggested to the administration that these efforts, while partially successful, were not sufficient to bring the fundamental conversion of public attitudes made necessary by rapid Axis expansion. The speedy capitulation of France heightened concern over the problem of public opinion not only because it increased the urgency of assisting Britain and perfecting American defenses, but also because France's poor showing was widely attributed to defeatism and a failure of national will. Fear of a similar American collapse from within became commonplace among the so-called well-informed in the United States, and the need to stimulate enthusiasm for administration foreign and military policy was an obvious lesson of the French experience.<sup>4</sup> Indeed public morale, as the popular attitude toward government policies was known, became a major topic of public discussion following the French collapse.<sup>5</sup>

Two basic methods of building a healthy public attitude toward the war were suggested to the president during the early summer of 1940. At the beginning of June presidential assistant Lauchlin Currie, apparently disturbed to find that many concerned Americans were frustrated by their inability to participate in the nation's preparedness effort, asked the president to sponsor the creation of local defense committees in which citizens might help to strengthen the nation's defenses. He hoped this would provide the activists with an opportunity for the participation they sought and that it would also set the proper example for their less aware neighbors.<sup>6</sup> Currie's effort was followed within a few days by a more direct approach to the morale problem involving the use of information for propaganda purposes. Almost immediately after the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 a "Basic Plan for Public Relations Administration" had been approved by the Joint Army-Navy Board. On June 10, 1940, the day Italy joined in the German conquest of France, the service secretaries submitted the plan to the White House. Their program was designed to "maintain national morale by the adequate presentation of the aims, views and progress of the na-

<sup>3</sup> See, for example Ernest Angell, "The Civilian Morale Agency," *ibid.*, 160-67.

<sup>4</sup> See Louis DeJong, *The German Fifth Column in the Second World War* (Chicago, 1956), 39-143.

<sup>5</sup> A number of attempts, both scholarly and popular, were made to determine what morale was and how it might be improved. Among the more valuable of these are Gordon Allport's "Liabilities and Assets in Civilian Morale," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCXVI (1941), 88-94; and Delbert C. Miller, "The Measurement of National Morale," *American Sociological Review*, VI (1941), 487-98.

<sup>6</sup> Memorandum, Currie to FDR, June 7, 1940, in "Mobilization of Civilian Resources, Volunteers," Hopkins Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (hereafter FDRL), Hyde Park, N. Y.

tion" in the preparedness effort.<sup>7</sup> The secretaries thought that wider knowledge of the international situation would increase public anxiety about American security and thus develop greater support for administration defense policy.

Roosevelt apparently made no response to either proposal; he was obliged to approach any propaganda project with great caution, since a government-sponsored information program was certain to recall the propaganda operations and abuses of World War I. Roosevelt was especially anxious to avoid Woodrow Wilson's mistakes, and he was mindful of the example of George Creel's Committee on Public Information, which had been severely criticized during and since World War I. Creel's agency had succeeded too well, its critics felt, in arousing chauvinism, intolerance, and hysteria along with the militant spirit it sought. Propaganda, especially the variety dependent on sensationalism and distortion of facts, was therefore dangerously vulnerable to political criticism.

Moreover, many Americans, encouraged by the substantial literature on the subject since 1918, were convinced that the public had been duped into supporting the war by propaganda and were determined not to be taken in again. As a result it could be expected that blatant propaganda would be of doubtful value in influencing an American public now sophisticated in this regard by the Great Crusade.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, straightforward information on international affairs was likely to be slow in producing results. Only Currie's suggestion of morale building through government-organized citizen participation held out the promise of effectiveness with a minimum of controversy.

This approach received a significant boost in August 1940 when it was endorsed by an influential group of people, some with close ties to the administration. Among them were Herbert Agar, Grenville Clark, William Donovan, Clarence Dykstra, Ernest K. Lindley, and Leo Rosten. William Y. Elliott, professor of government at Harvard and an outspoken interventionist, acting for the group, spoke to Harry Hopkins and wrote the president, emphasizing that there were many Americans who shared the administration's view of America's responsibilities in world affairs but whose efforts lacked nationwide coordination and formal encouragement from the administration. Elliott asked support for the formation of a citizens council for national unity, which would coordinate

<sup>7</sup> Letter, secretaries of war and navy to FDR, June 10, 1940, in personal secretary's file (hereafter PSF), War Department, 1940, FDRL. The background to this plan is discussed along with other pre-1939 government public relations proposals in chapter 16 of James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War, The Story of the Committee on Public Information 1917-1919* (Princeton, 1939). The authors favored the reinstitution of an agency like the World War I Committee on Public Information as an alternative to censorship and other wartime government controls.

<sup>8</sup> "Mr. Creel . . . was one of the most disliked and traduced members of the national government while the war was in progress, and the 1918 caricature of him carries over to the present day [1939]." Mock and Larson, *Words that Won the War*, 11-12. Nevertheless, in early February 1941 Roosevelt entertained the idea of bringing Creel back in his propagandist capacity. Ickes argued that there was no need for the president to take on Creel's enemies. Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, III, *The Lowering Clouds, 1939-1941* (New York, 1954), 426. A poll taken in October 1939 revealed that almost forty per cent of those who expressed an opinion believed that in entering World War I the United States had been victimized by "propaganda and selfish interests." *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*, ed. Hadley Cantril and Mildred Strunk (Princeton, 1951), 202.

existing patriotic ventures under government auspices. Interested groups would be encouraged to sponsor pageants and parades and to provide opportunities for useful voluntary activities such as air raid preparations and other auxiliary defense undertakings. Elliott termed this participatory scheme "propaganda of the act."<sup>9</sup> Again the president made no reply, and the political implications of openly employing propaganda of any kind made it virtually certain that no attempt would be made to build morale until after the fall elections.

The first test of public support for administration foreign policy during 1941 came in March when the Lend-Lease Act was passed by Congress without benefit of a formal propaganda effort. This success, however, was not interpreted as a sign of a significant change in public attitude. For Lend-Lease, though a major step in the abandonment of American neutrality, demanded little sacrifice of the American public, and its passage cannot be and was not taken as a sign that the average citizen now identified Britain's fight as his own. Although the president asked the American people to apply themselves to the job of aiding Great Britain "with the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice as we should show were we at war," the public's attitude underwent no noticeable change until after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor.<sup>10</sup> In March 1941, even as the Lend-Lease bill moved toward passage, the interventionists resumed their efforts to create a federal agency that might take the lead in directing the public toward recognition of the immediacy and seriousness of the German threat to American security.<sup>11</sup>

On March 14 President Roosevelt discussed the possibility of establishing such an agency with Harry Hopkins, presidential assistant Wayne Coy, the former ambassador to France, William C. Bullitt, and the director of the budget, Harold Smith. At the end of their talk the president instructed Coy, Bullitt, and Smith to draft an executive order establishing a morale-building agency and gave them a memorandum he had received from George F. Milton for guidance.<sup>12</sup> On April 4 the three men completed their work and sought Roosevelt's approval of a draft executive order establishing an office of home defense. The new agency was to be established within the Office of Emergency Management, which had been created in 1939 to oversee the rapidly proliferating executive

<sup>9</sup> Elliott also served as a consultant to the government on management and industrial mobilization. Elliott to Hopkins, Aug. 6, 1940, folder "Bk II Morale and War Info.," Hopkins Papers, FDRL. This "propaganda of the act" approach is apparent in the Defense Savings program (bonds and stamps) recommended to the Congress in January 1941 in part because it afforded an "opportunity for the largest possible number of people to become active participants in, rather than mere observers of, the defense effort." Henry Morgenthau, secretary of the treasury, testified that it was the treasury's purpose "to raise money for national defense by methods which strengthen national morale." Peter H. Odegard and Alan Barth, "Millions for Defense," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, V (1941), 399-411. This article has an excellent discussion of the theory of "propaganda of the act."

<sup>10</sup> Public address, Dec. 29, 1940, in *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, ed. S. Shepard Jones and D. P. Myers, III (Boston, 1941), 17-26.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Ickes, *Diary*, III, 448, 450.

<sup>12</sup> Milton, a prominent journalist and historian who acted as a consultant to a number of federal agencies, proposed "An Office of Peace Security." His memorandum and a covering note dated March 18, 1941, are in Official File (hereafter OF) 4351, FDRL.



agencies. The office of home defense would be responsible for coordinating the activities of the various federal, state, and local agencies involved in non-military defense activities and for planning civilian protection in the event of air raids or other community emergencies. It would also be authorized to create "a positive program of volunteer activities designed to give individuals and organizations constructive opportunities to participate in the defense program." The scheme's proponents explicitly acknowledged their intention of using these voluntary activities as "propaganda of the act," claiming that as citizens were given a part to play in the defense program, they would "build their own enthusiasm for it and intensify their determination to see it through." This, they said, would provide "an excellent means for building and sustaining national morale." The authors of the executive order thus assured the president that it provided an adequate starting point for the development of "any appropriate or necessary program" in this area.<sup>13</sup>

The president did not take immediate action on the proposal of the Coy group, explaining that he was looking for the right man to direct the new agency and that he would announce the creation of the office when he had selected its director. Roosevelt's comments on the kind of individual he was seeking suggest that while he had accepted the plan in principle he did not entirely agree with the indirect approach to the morale problem. The president indicated at this time that he was searching for an effective administrator who could also "attract public attention as a good ballyhoo artist and speech maker." He had in mind New York City's flamboyant mayor, Fiorello La Guardia. Before and during World War I Roosevelt was himself something of a super-patriot, and he remained attracted to a good old-fashioned, flag-waving speech.<sup>14</sup> Though drawn to sensationalist propaganda he was wary of using it too blatantly, and evidently he intended to establish an agency that would use this approach only if it could be done without exposing the administration to excessive criticism.

While the president continued his search for the right man—or, what is more likely, while he looked for a more agreeable formula for morale building—pressure mounted within the administration for immediate action. On April 11 Vice-President Henry Wallace, noting the lagging pace of American industrial mobilization, suggested to the president the importance of doing "everything possible to create a national morale which will make 99% of our people work to the limit for the cause of increased production." At about the same time Frances Perkins, secretary of labor, just back from the West Coast where she had found considerable lethargy in the defense industry, joined the secretary of the navy, Frank Knox, in urging the president to create some sort of morale-building agency. Roosevelt put off Miss Perkins by saying that he was looking for the

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum, Coy, Bullitt, and Smith for FDR, attached to draft executive order establishing an "Office of Home Defense," in box 2, "Civilian Defense" folder, Coy Papers, FDRL.

<sup>14</sup> Memorandum of discussion, Apr. 4, 1941, in "Conferences with the President 1941-42," Smith Papers, FDRL; see Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt, I, The Apprenticeship* (Boston, 1952), chaps. XV-XXI.



right person for the job, while Knox found the president apparently indifferent to the problem.<sup>15</sup> During the spring of 1941, as Britain's prospects steadily worsened, the question of whether the United States should act, and if so, where and when, preoccupied the president's advisers. The outlook was discouraging. The United States was not militarily prepared for intervention. More important, however, Roosevelt apparently believed that the public would not yet accept direct military intervention, and he seemed determined to wait until events, presumably an incident initiated by Germany, created a clear increase in public militancy before he would support such action.

Interventionists attributed the president's reticence solely to his fear of public opinion. Reluctant to leave the education of the public to Germany's initiative, they were anxious that the government make a positive effort at effecting an immediate change in attitudes toward the war. The secretary of war, Henry L. Stimson, as unhappy as anyone over the drift of events, raised the issue of the morale agency again at a cabinet meeting on April 17. The president declared that action was delayed only by his inability to settle on the "right man," or, as it now turned out, the right men, for the job. He had now decided that the proposed organization would need two directors, "one to sit in Washington and organize and direct, and the other to travel around stimulating patriotism." Roosevelt's explanation failed to satisfy Ickes and Perkins who, upset by the lack of progress, told the president in a petulant outburst that the consensus among those connected with the project was that the new agency was being sabotaged by presidential assistant Lowell Mellett.<sup>16</sup> Mellett was indeed opposed to the government's use of propaganda, and he probably had tried to influence the president against measures in this direction.

The president laughed off the Ickes-Perkins accusation, and the conversation turned to a consideration of several possible candidates for director of the proposed agency. In an apparently desperate effort to get some kind of action on the scheme, Ickes asked Roosevelt to name Wallace to the post. Roosevelt accepted the proposal and Wallace was named "acting manager" of the morale effort until a permanent director could be found. In the interim the vice-president was assigned the task of taking steps to "stimulate patriotism," for example, by encouraging local organizations concerned with war preparedness to develop plans for home defense.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Letter, Wallace to FDR, Apr. 11, 1941, President's Personal File (hereafter PPF) 41, FDRL; Ickes, *Diary*, III, 473, 478.

<sup>16</sup> Mellett was also director of the Office of Government Reports, an executive agency that acted as a source of information for the public on the activities of various temporary federal agencies and provided the means by which the administration determined the public's response to their performance. See Lowell Mellett, "The Office of Government Reports," *Public Administration Review*, I (1941), 126-31. The nature of his responsibilities led some observers to identify Mellett with the pro-propaganda elements in the administration. Mellett, "Government Propaganda," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXVIII (Sept. 1941), 311-13. Mellett here answers the charge that he is an administration propagandist.

<sup>17</sup> Account of the meeting in "Memorandum After Cabinet Meeting," Notes on Conferences, Decisions by the Chief of Staff, Deputy Chief . . . and other Information, April, 1941," folder 13, Records of the Office of the Chief of Staff, World War II Records, National Archives.

The delegation of this temporary authority to Wallace did little to end the confusion and uncertainty concerning morale-building plans. Whatever interest the president had in a formal morale agency—and apparently he was less than enthusiastic about the idea—seemed to be directed at a straightforward propaganda effort loosely coordinated by the administration and carried out at the local level. This was also the kind of operation Ickes and others in the cabinet favored. It was not, however, the method envisaged by Coy, Smith, and Bullitt. They were primarily interested in providing civilian defense activities for those Americans who already agreed with the administration but who were frustrated by their inability to contribute to the nation's preparedness. Their participation, in turn, would stimulate the awareness and patriotic feelings of others. The president, without necessarily rejecting this concept, wished to supplement it with a program calling for a series of short patriotic speeches by volunteers modeled after the World War I "four minute men." Roosevelt probably felt that since the administration's role in organizing these inspirational addresses would be minimal and indirect, it would be relatively safe from the hostile criticism a propaganda agency might attract.

The confusion in the planning of a morale-building effort was made explicit as soon as Wallace began work. On April 18 he sent for three administration officials concerned with the morale effort—Wayne Coy, Harold Smith, and John J. McCloy, assistant secretary of war—to learn their views before proceeding with the project. This meeting pointed up one of the less admirable aspects of the Roosevelt style of administration. Wallace had solicited the group's help in drafting an executive order setting up a civilian defense agency only to learn that Smith, Coy, and Bullitt had long since drafted just such an order that they thought had already received the president's approval.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the embarrassment this situation must have created, the conferees went on to explore the problem of morale and what could be done about it. Wallace for his part strongly favored a blatant propaganda effort along the lines of the Nazi ministry of propaganda. McCloy, who had been in Germany and witnessed the Goebbels organization in operation, supported the vice-president. Smith and Coy pointed out that an agency on the German model would not be possible, even if desirable, because it would require government direction of the privately owned information media. They suggested instead that the voluntary approach be kept, agreeing, however, that it might be supplemented with a speechmaking campaign under the vice-president's direction. Though the meeting ended on this note of compromise, Wallace did not give up the idea of establishing a full-fledged propaganda organization, and during the second half of April he attempted, unsuccessfully, to bring such a plan before the president.<sup>19</sup>

On April 19 the president finally acted on the Smith-Coy proposal by offering

<sup>18</sup> Notes on meeting of Apr. 18, 1941, in "Conferences," Smith Papers, FDRL.

<sup>19</sup> Harold F. Gosnell, "Report on the Office of Facts and Figures," mimeographed report dated Nov. 1943, item 4, box 42, Records of the Office of War Information, National Archives; Ickes, *Diary*, III, 442, 450.

Mayor La Guardia a major role in an organization much like that proposed by Smith and his associates. Roosevelt made it clear to La Guardia that the new post would not make it necessary for him to abandon his campaign for re-election in New York. He apparently thought that the latter's duties as chief executive of the nation's largest city and his responsibilities as chairman of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, Canada-United States would not interfere with his new job. This suggests that the president had in mind a task of few responsibilities and little significance. Roosevelt very likely told La Guardia that his activities would be confined largely to speechmaking. The mayor, while interested, did not immediately agree to take the post.<sup>20</sup>

Notwithstanding the president's obviously limited conception of the new office, Smith sought to make certain that this opportunity for action was not lost. Following the White House meetings, the budget director asked Wallace to urge Roosevelt to issue the pending executive order. He pointed out that a number of local morale-boosting groups were forming across the nation, groups that, once established, would increase the organizational difficulties of the planned federal agency. Wallace agreed to talk to the president again about the problem.<sup>21</sup>

Whether or not Wallace had an opportunity to speak to the president, no action came from the White House for some time. Ickes, for one, though speculating that his repeated entreaties on the subject were probably becoming tiresome to the president, tried again. On the twenty-eighth he wrote to Roosevelt, telling him that while the isolationists were carrying on "a planned campaign of defeatism," the administration was doing nothing to tell its side of the story. Roosevelt forwarded Ickes' letter to Lowell Mellett for his reaction. On May 5 Mellett, who had already been identified by Ickes and others as a major obstacle to the creation of the morale agency, replied that while he sympathized with Ickes' objectives, he did not think there could be any "government propaganda operation in behalf of national policy until there is an accepted national policy."<sup>22</sup> Mellett had put his finger on an important aspect of the morale problem. No one seemed to know exactly what Roosevelt's foreign policy was, and this posed considerable difficulties for those promoting the administration's position. At the same time Mellett must have realized that the president's refusal to state explicitly American interests and intentions reflected his fear of adverse public reaction to such sudden candor. Indeed, the morale-building effort was intended to strengthen the president's hand for the pursuit of a bolder foreign and military policy. While propaganda efforts would gain from a clear statement of administration policy, the adoption of a firm policy depended on a change of public attitude—the very object of the proposed agency.

The efforts of Ickes and other supporters of the morale agency were finally re-

<sup>20</sup> Memorandum of meeting, Apr. 22, 1941, "Conferences," Smith Papers, FDRL.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Letter, Ickes to FDR, Apr. 28, 1941, in "OGR" (Office of Government Reports) folder, Personal Files, 1938-44, Mellett Papers, FDRL; memorandum, Mellett to FDR, "W. H.-1941" folder, in Official Correspondence 1938-44, Mellett Papers, FDRL.

warded in May when the White House announced the creation of an Office of Civilian Defense with La Guardia as director. The announcement coincided with, and may have been related to, a series of speeches delivered during May by members of the administration, including Frank Knox, Secretary of State Hull, Vice-President Wallace, and interventionist members of Congress, all of whom stressed the need to keep Germany from occupying Dakar or the Portuguese Atlantic Islands.<sup>23</sup> These were likely undertaken at the president's request in order to prepare the public for a possible American expedition to one or another of those locations.<sup>24</sup>

The functions of the new agency, as Roosevelt described them, were somewhat different in emphasis if not in scope from those envisaged by its original sponsors and were also at variance with the substance of the president's talks with the mayor in April. At that time the president had offered La Guardia a position equivalent to chief administration speechmaker. Now, however, the mayor was given no direct role in propaganda, but was assigned instead the task of coordinating the hundreds of state, local, and non-governmental volunteer civilian defense organizations currently preparing the nation to meet the exigencies of war on the home front.<sup>25</sup> La Guardia's discussion with Roosevelt indicates that the mayor was more interested in preparedness than in the propaganda value of civil defense. His lack of enthusiasm for the morale-building aspects of the new post was also reflected in his remarks to the press. Two days after his appointment he told reporters that he intended to defer action on the civilian defense problems of the Middle West because that section of the country was least exposed to attack. While the mayor's statement was unimpeachable, it indicates his lack of interest in public attitudes. Since Middle Westerners were generally the most consistent opponents of administration policy,<sup>26</sup> a lively concern for morale would have led the mayor to give the Midwest a higher priority than he gave to it in his statement. Moreover, the mayor now indicated that he planned to delegate the propaganda function to a subordinate to be appointed by the president. The appointee would, the mayor said, direct "a sort of ballyhoo committee" within the new organization.

<sup>23</sup> New York *Times*, May 20, 1941. La Guardia was to serve without compensation except for expenses, and with the understanding that he would retain his posts as mayor, and chairman of the Joint Defense Board. *Ibid.*, May 4, 7, 14, 16, 20, 21, 1941.

<sup>24</sup> On May 24 John Cowles, publisher of the Minneapolis *Star Journal*, suggested to War Department officials that he "had been urged by certain Administration circles" to use his newspaper to advocate "the attack on and securing of Dakar." Memorandum, O. W. [Colonel Orlando Ward] for Chief of Staff, May 24, 1941, Office of the Chief of Staff, Notes on Conferences, etc., folder 5, May 1941, in World War II Records, National Archives. An expedition to the Azores was prepared but never carried out. The Dakar idea came to nothing.

<sup>25</sup> Military aspects of the civil defense program are discussed in Stetson Conn *et al.*, *Guarding the United States and its Outposts (United States Army in World War II: The Western Hemisphere)* (Washington, 1964), 64-73.

<sup>26</sup> New York *Times*, May 23, 1941. Three days before the mayor's remarks the *Times* reported that a speech delivered in Kansas by Claude Wickard, secretary of agriculture, was regarded in Washington as the opening gun of a campaign to mobilize public opinion in the Midwest for a more positive policy in foreign affairs. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1941.

The president's action worried Ickes and others. Interested in creating an effective propaganda agency, Ickes was unhappy about the separation of morale and defense functions in the new organization and suspected that in view of La Guardia's other commitments the mayor would not devote sufficient time to his new responsibility. His doubts were quickly confirmed. At the end of May Harold Smith reported to the president that La Guardia was restricting himself to the narrow field of civilian protection and that the broad objectives of the executive order, especially that of improving civilian morale, were not being realized. The substance of Smith's remarks received powerful endorsement from columnist Drew Pearson, who in early June wrote an article severely criticizing the president for his failure to make OCD an effective morale agency. Roosevelt, believing that Ickes had inspired the attack, discussed the matter with the secretary, explaining that he had not yet decided whether morale building should be part of Civilian Defense under La Guardia or the function of a separate agency. Ickes pointedly observed that the order setting up OCD had already explicitly given this task to the new organization.<sup>27</sup>

Continued dissatisfaction with the morale effort now resulted in the reorganization of OCD. On July 9 the mayor presented Roosevelt with plans for the creation within OCD of a propaganda agency to be called the Bureau of Facts and Figures. This in turn was to be subdivided into three offices. A speakers' bureau would "keep a check on every meeting held in the United States on foreign policy, interventionism, and isolationism," making certain that the administration's side of the story was quickly and readily available to the public. A second office would be responsible for collecting and analyzing information and opinion from the news media and, when appropriate, producing corrective material for distribution to the press. Finally, the reorganization would establish a foreign information service, responsible for the dissemination of overseas propaganda. La Guardia revealed the nature of the proposed Bureau of Facts and Figures when he told the president that it would not only distribute "actual and accurate information"—a service that presumably would justify its name—but would also provide the public with "sugar coated, colored, ornamental matter, otherwise known as 'bunk,' but very useful." Though La Guardia was himself unwilling to be the nation's chief propagandist, he evidently did not in principle oppose an emotional appeal.<sup>28</sup>

A week later the president accepted the mayor's scheme, except that the overseas propaganda function was denied to La Guardia's agency and delegated instead to the Coordinator of Information, a new office created for William J. Donovan.<sup>29</sup> In announcing the new arrangement the president explicitly gave La

<sup>27</sup> Ickes, *Diary*, III, 518; Meeting May 29, 1941, in "Conferences with the President, 1941-42," Smith Papers, FDRL; Ickes, *Diary*, III (June 11, 1941), 540.

<sup>28</sup> Memorandum, La Guardia to FDR, July 9, 1941, in "Gosnell Report," item 4, box 42, Records of the Office of War Information, National Archives.

<sup>29</sup> Memorandum, FDR to La Guardia, July 14, 1941, in *ibid.*

Guardia overall responsibility for "developing and executing the programs necessary to sustain the morale of our people." Although it now appeared that a concerted government effort to shape American attitudes was to get under way, any hope the proponents of morale building might have entertained because of the reorganization of OCD were doomed to disappointment. For the flurry of White House activity in July produced no more tangible results than had the discussions of April or May, with the result that concern within the administration over public attitudes continued unabated through the late summer of 1941.

The need for rapid change in public attitudes was clearly indicated by the opposition the administration encountered in its efforts to extend the draft law. At the end of July, faced with the prospect of the dissolution of the small nascent army through the expiration of selective service, the president supported legislation prolonging military duty for the duration of the national emergency. The administration also sought to eliminate the provision of the existing law that forbade the use of drafted men outside the Western Hemisphere. These proposals encountered rough going. The general public, encouraged by isolationist spokesmen, failed to share the president's anxiety over the weakness of the nation's military forces. Opinion polls conducted during the debate in Congress revealed that while a little more than half the American people supported extension, a clear majority opposed the elimination of the restriction of service to the Western Hemisphere. On August 12 the administration, by the narrowest margin, won an extension of duty, but only for eighteen months rather than for the indefinite period requested. Moreover, the restriction of service that the president had hoped to remove remained in the new act.<sup>30</sup>

A week later the president commented on the public attitude reflected in this episode, telling reporters, off the record, that he believed that people in a democracy tended to be complacent in the face of crisis. He illustrated the universality of the principle by quoting from a statement made by Abraham Lincoln in the midst of the Civil War:

The fact is the people have not yet made up their minds that we are at war with the South. They have not backed down to the determination to fight this war through; for they have got the idea into their heads that we are going to get out of this fix somehow by strategy. . . . They have no idea that the War is to be carried on and put through by hard, tough fighting, that it will hurt somebody: and no headway is going to be made while this delusion lasts.

Roosevelt said that Lincoln's description made a "rather interesting parallel" with the situation in the United States in the summer of 1941, when there were "a lot of people who haven't waked up to the danger."<sup>31</sup>

The president was convinced that his policies had failed to enlist the active

<sup>30</sup> William L. Langer and S. E. Gleason, *The Undeclared War, 1940-1941* (New York, 1953), 574; Robert A. Divine, *The Reluctant Belligerent, American Entry into World War II* (New York, 1965), 130-31.

<sup>31</sup> Press Conference Aug. 11, 1941, in Press Conferences, XVIII, FDRL. The quotation from Lincoln may be found in Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years* (New York, 1939), I, 553.



support of "the little man of America," and that, consequently, his program of industrial mobilization and unlimited aid to Britain was being slowed.<sup>32</sup> Without waiting for the new Bureau of Facts and Figures to produce results, Roosevelt turned to informal action outside the mayor's organization. In the latter part of August he again broached the idea of a speakers' bureau.<sup>33</sup> This pet project of the president was supposed to have been included in the Bureau of Facts and Figures established in the OCD during its reorganization in July. Roosevelt, however, now asked Frank Knox, onetime publisher of the *Chicago Sun*, to organize a speechmaking campaign by members of the cabinet aimed at presenting "the administration's side" to the public. This led to a short squabble with an aroused *La Guardia*, who protested this incursion into his domain.<sup>34</sup> In any event, neither the cabinet's efforts nor *La Guardia*'s organization appear to have produced a significant change in public attitudes; by September it was clear that the government's morale-building efforts were unsuccessful and devoid of promise.

At the beginning of September the army chief of staff, General George C. Marshall, concerned about low morale among draftees, a problem he traced to the poor attitude of the folks back home, pleaded with the president to have the Office of Civilian Defense take appropriate action to correct the situation. Roosevelt, however, offered Marshall no encouragement. The president had apparently given up hope of achieving results with *La Guardia*'s agency, which was now "one of the most criticized branches of the preparedness program," numbering even Eleanor Roosevelt among its public critics.<sup>35</sup>

In spite of *La Guardia*'s obvious inability to get the morale operation under way and the increasing criticism his organization was drawing as a result, the president refused to remove him. Apart from his general reluctance to fire members of his staff, Roosevelt may also have been deterred by a reluctance to embarrass *La Guardia* before the November mayoralty election. Nevertheless, something had to be done, if only to silence criticism of administration ineptness in this area. The president's solution was to remove the propaganda function from OCD. By executive order dated October 24, Roosevelt made the Bureau of Facts and Figures—now known as the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF)—an independent agency directly responsible to the president. *La Guardia* remained in charge of OCD—until January 1942, when he retired in favor of James M. Landis—and the agency continued to have responsibility for organizing civilian defense services and for the program of voluntary citizen participation. Archibald MacLeish, the librarian of Congress, was appointed director of OFF on a part-time basis and without remuneration.

<sup>32</sup> See remarks to Stimson in the latter's "Diary," Aug. 29, 1941, Yale University Library.

<sup>33</sup> A speakers' bureau had been part of the Creel Committee.

<sup>34</sup> Memorandum, Knox for FDR, Aug. 28, 1941, PSF "Knox" (closed), FDRL.

<sup>35</sup> Letter, Marshall to FDR, Sept. 6, 1941, PSF "War Department," FDRL; memorandum, FDR for Marshall, Sept. 23, 1941, *ibid.*; "OCD on the Fire," *Newsweek*, Sept. 8, 1941, pp. 45-46.



The establishment of the new agency ended any hope of using "hard sell" propaganda for morale building. It was apparent from its inception that OFF would not use the methods advocated by Ickes, Wallace, and their supporters. Following the White House announcement of the new agency, Mayor La Guardia was quoted as having declared, "Whatever anybody says . . . the Office of Facts and Figures is not a propaganda agency. There are three reasons why it is not. The first is that we don't believe in this country in artificially stimulated high-pressure, doctored nonsense, and since we don't, the other two reasons are unimportant." La Guardia's remarks were confirmed by MacLeish, who both publicly and privately declared that he would not use "bally-hoo methods" but would instead confine his activities to the dissemination of accurate facts and figures that, he said, would be neither "perverted nor colored."<sup>36</sup> Rather than act as a propaganda agency, OFF would seek to increase public understanding of administration policy by cooperating with the public relations offices of the government departments and agencies concerned with preparedness. OFF would attempt to ascertain the subjects on which the public appeared misinformed or uninformed and would recommend remedial action. The actual dissemination of information would be left to the established government information agencies.<sup>37</sup> Obviously, providing the public with the facts as perceived by the administration was propaganda of a sort in that it was designed to change the views of open-minded opponents of administration policy. At the same time, this method was hardly likely to work any quick conversions or to produce the emotional awakening many interventionists thought was needed.

A short time after the establishment of OFF, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ended the debate between interventionists and isolationists. But the attack and the subsequent German and Italian declarations of war did not entirely relieve Roosevelt's anxiety concerning public attitudes, and during 1942 the president consciously pursued a military policy—climaxing in the invasion of North Africa in November—that he hoped would generate enthusiastic popular support for the war effort. In the process he virtually ignored the Office of Facts and Figures, and, partly as a consequence, the OFF proved totally ineffective in dealing with the morale-building needs of wartime America. The severe criticism from the press and from Congress that almost invariably plagued preparedness agencies, particularly those concerned with information, also contributed to the demise of OFF in June 1942. The Office of War Information took

<sup>36</sup> La Guardia, quoted in *New York Times*, Oct. 8, 1941; letter, MacLeish to Harry Hopkins, Oct. 27, 1941, box 314, folder VI, "OWI," in Hopkins Papers, FDRL. See also *New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1941. Arthur Krock, Washington bureau chief for the *Times*, had his doubts concerning MacLeish's intentions: "If OFF pipes out the undiluted uncolored facts, it will be the first government information bureau to do that." *Ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1941.

<sup>37</sup> The organization of OFF is described in Philip S. Broughton, "Government Agencies and Civilian Morale," *The Annals of the American Society of Political and Social Sciences*, CCXX (1942), 168-77.

over both the domestic and overseas propaganda functions, concentrating on the latter with some success.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from his speeches, Roosevelt's attempts to develop active popular support for his policies in military and foreign affairs were from first to last a failure. Notwithstanding the fact that he and most of his advisers were concerned about public hostility or indifference to American efforts to contribute to Germany's defeat, and despite continual pressure from within the administration that he take formal countermeasures, the president's efforts were slow, confused, and ultimately ineffective. The explanation for his indecisive and inept handling of the morale problem is not certain, but it is possible to make some educated guesses.

Judging by his frequent requests for public speaking tours by members of the administration and his own use of dramatic public appeals, the president's desultory performance did not stem from doubt as to the efficacy of propaganda. Nor is it likely that he had any scruples about "flag-waving" as a means of stimulating civilian approval and participation in the defense—or war—effort. At the same time, however, he could anticipate that repeated personal appeals would produce diminishing returns. In all likelihood his inhibitions in using other methods stemmed from a fear of hostile congressional and public reaction to outright administration efforts at propaganda. Sensitized to the evils of propaganda by the experiences of World War I and fearful of its dictatorial or political uses, members of Congress in particular had for years accused the president of seeking to establish "a centralized press service which would censor news at the source."<sup>39</sup> The president's fear of arousing this suspicion was compounded by problems resulting from his confused and confusing administrative actions. These made it unnecessarily difficult for him to secure an effective propaganda program even after he had apparently decided to do so. Finally, it is also possible that the president, anticipating the political dangers implicit in any propaganda effort, never had much faith that he could create a successful program. Gradual military involvement probably seemed to offer the best means of morale building, and his half-hearted support of OCD and OFF was really designed more to still the demands of the interventionists than to effect a revolution in public opinion.

<sup>38</sup> See Richard W. Steele, "Roosevelt, Marshall, and the First Offensive: The Politics of Strategy Making, 1941-42," doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1969, pp. 152-65, 234-51.

<sup>39</sup> James Reston's article on government information in *New York Times*, Oct. 8, 1941.

# The Military and Politics in Turkey, 1960-64: A Socio-Cultural Analysis of a Revolution

KEMAL H. KARPAT

THE role of the military in the political history of the Middle East has been the subject of intensive study. Some scholars have regarded the advent of the military to power in a number of these countries as a return to traditional historical patterns of authoritarian rule after several decades of deceptive experiments in democracy and parliamentarianism. Some have stressed the part of the military in the creation of modern political structures, in the mobilization of society, and in the involvement of the masses in political life through social and cultural reforms, economic development, and mass organizations. Others have defined the military in the Middle East as the "new middle class," which, as it controlled the chief means of physical force, was the only organized group capable of coping with corrupt and inefficient civilian governments and of setting society on a new course of development.<sup>1</sup>

The role of the Turkish army in the history of modernization, and especially in the Revolution of 1960, has also been given fairly extensive treatment.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Related views dealing with general events in Turkey may be found in my article "Recent Political Developments in Turkey and Their Social Background," *International Affairs*, XXXVIII (1962), 304-23. On the military in the Middle East and Turkey, see J. C. Hurewitz, *Middle East Politics: The Military Dimension* (New York, 1969); John C. Campbell, "The Role of the Military in the Middle East: Past Patterns and New Directions," in *The Military in the Middle East*, ed. Sydney N. Fisher (Columbus, 1963), 106-07; Morroe Berger, "Les régimes militaires du Moyen Orient," *Orient*, XV (1960), 21-68; and Manfred Halpern, *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa* (Princeton, 1965), Chap. iv. See also P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Egyptian Army in Politics* (Bloomington, 1961); and Majid Khadduri, "The Role of the Military in Middle East Politics," *American Political Science Review*, XLVIII (1953), 511-24. For related studies see Lucian W. Pye, "Armies in the Process of Political Modernization," *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, ed. John J. Johnson (Princeton, 1962), 75; William Gutteridge, *Armed Forces in New States* (London, 1962); and Morris Janowitz, *The Military in the Political Development of New States* (Chicago, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> Dankwart A. Rustow, "The Army and Founding of the Turkish Republic," *World Politics*, XI (1959), 513-52; Daniel Lerner and Richard D. Robinson, "Swords and Ploughshares," *World Politics*, XIII (1960), 19-44; Frederick W. Frey, "Arms and the Man in Turkish Politics," *Land Reborn*, XI (1960), 3-14; Walter F. Weiker, *The Turkish Revolution, 1960-1961, Aspects of Military Politics* (Washington, 1963); Ergun Özbudun, *The Role of the Military in Recent Turkish Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966); George S. Harris, "The Role of the Military in Turkish Politics," *Middle East Journal*, XIX (1965), 54-66, 169-76. Turkish sources will be cited later.

present study, while relying somewhat on secondary material, also includes interviews with revolutionary officers and considerations of writings by military men. Above all it aims at presenting an interpretation of the Revolution of 1960 within the historical framework of modernization, cultural change, and the overall position of the military in the social-political structure. Consequently, both the officers involved in the Revolution of 1960 and the Revolution itself will be treated in the light of four ideas that can place the developments under study here in a new historical, conceptual perspective.

The first idea concerns the place of the army in the social and political history of Turkey. The military in the Ottoman Empire and later in the Republic, at least at the beginning, was the basic foundation on which the social and political organization stood. Consequently, a change in the traditional elite position of the military in the social and political arrangement was bound to produce profound repercussions in the entire society.

The second idea underlying this study is a corollary of the first. It concerns the self-image of the officer, or the role and place of the military in society as conceived by the officers themselves. The officers' self-image has been regarded as having a normative function in the planning and justification of political actions. "Image" has been defined as the totality of the attributes, real or imaginary, that an individual perceives in an object and/or in a situation, attributes perceived in himself or in his nation. Images are formed, first, according to the norms and stereotypes borrowed from family and society; second, according to secondary or acquired experience, through books, mass media, education in school, discussion, and so on; and third, according to personal knowledge and experience.<sup>3</sup> We may add a fourth, namely, the image derived from identification with a social or professional group and its ethics. This is particularly significant in the case of Turkey. The identification of the Turkish revolutionary officers with the traditions and values of the military establishment as shaped by the history and the social-political mores of the army, as well as their views on social ranking, duty toward the nation and the state, reform and modernity, had profound effects upon their political attitudes and actions.

The third idea through which the Revolution of 1960 is analyzed concerns the changes or the mobility of the Turkish political elites. It is assumed that multi-party life and economic development after 1945-46 greatly intensified social mobility and changed the criteria for selection of the elites. The rise of the new elites, on the basis of economic power and through party channels, from the agrarian, entrepreneurial, and professional groups, changed not only the hierarchical order of the elites, but also the system of political values. In other

<sup>3</sup> On the question of image, see William A. Scott, "Psychological and Social Correlates of International Images," in *International Behavior*, ed. Herbert C. Kelman (New York, 1965), 72; and Ole R. Osti, "The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, VI (1962), 244. See also Andrew M. Scott, *The Functioning of the International Political System* (New York, 1967).

words, the rise of civilian elite groups and their clash with the statist-bureaucratic elites, including the military, was a crucial landmark in the history of Turkey, not only in precipitating the Revolution of 1960, but also in bringing about a new political structure.

The fourth idea concerns the consequences of the Revolution. Starting from a structural and functional interpretation of the political phenomena, I have regarded the constitutional order and the parliamentary democracy that emerged after the Revolution as a compromise arrived at by the elite groups in order to select the consensual system of decision making best suited to their interests. In other words, the resulting parliamentary system, which provided for new social and economic goals and broader participation, became the channel of political conciliation among social groups, including the army. In this process, the elites became aware of their relative strength and position in society and adjusted their self-image accordingly. Thus, a broader analysis of the Revolution of 1960 would go a long way in explaining the political transformation of Turkey during the decade just past and possibly for a long time to come.

Historically, the army is the oldest social institution in Turkey, and, in fact, it is the only organization surviving from the traditionalist era. It draws its spirit and traditions from the Turkish heritage in Central Asia, from Islam, and from the experiences of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1918) and the Republic. It occupied the highest place in the traditional social organization consisting of the *erkan-ı erbaa*, the four pillars or estates: the military, the learned, the merchants, and the peasants. In fact, in the Ottoman Empire society came to be regarded as divided into two sections: the first, the *askeri* (military), comprising the army and the bureaucracy, that is, the ruling elite; and the second, the *raya*, which included all villagers whatever their religion,<sup>4</sup> although in the nineteenth century the name *raya* came to be applied only to Christian subjects. This order was defined as "the state" (*devlet*), and the population was indoctrinated to regard the survival of the state as identical with the survival of Islam. One of the essential goals of the state was to preserve existing arrangements and to create happiness through the craft of government. The Janizary establishment played a crucial role in maintaining this structure. Known as *devşirme*, that is, "collected" for the purpose of state service, the Janizaries joined the large group of *Kapıkulu* (servants—not slaves—of the Porte) on which the throne and entire bureaucratic edifice stood. The Janizary establishment represented the central

<sup>4</sup> A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London, 1953), xviii-xli; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 1962); *Law in the Middle East*, ed. Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebensny (Washington, 1955), 3-27; Halil İnalcık, "The Nature of Traditional Society," in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, ed. Robert Ward and D. A. Rustow (Princeton, 1964), 42-45. Jalaluddin Dawanni, the author of *Ahlâg-L İelali*, a book that reappraises the social estates, was congratulated by Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512), and the Ottoman jurist Abdül Rahman Çelebi studied under him for seven years. For the early Ottoman ideology of the *Gazis* see Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938), 7-14.

authority in its endeavor to rule the heterogeneous ethnic and social population and to subdue local groups. Thus, the *devşirme* became the representative of a somewhat oppressive central authority, but in religious and ethnic terms appeared to be a suspicious group. Because the *devşirme* were new converts to Islam and without known affiliation to the early *Gazi* (warriors of Islam) who established the Ottoman state, their religious and social loyalties remained suspect, even though by the end of the sixteenth century those born Muslim could freely join the Janizaries. Conversions and subsequent appointments to high government positions continued even into the nineteenth century. Eventually the Janizary establishment associated itself with the *ulema* (learned religious men), through which, with the population at large, the Janizaries became a bulwark against the power of the court and defenders of traditional ways of life and the social order. Thus, they played important social and political roles, often to the total disregard of their military functions. In fact, by the end of the eighteenth century, the Janizary *ocağ* (unit) had become a sort of fraternity that often included the entire Muslim male population of a town.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the suspicion that the descendants of the *devşirme* continued to occupy high state positions without inner commitment to the actual values of society survived, as will be indicated later.

A modern army, drawing its members primarily from ethnic Turks, was organized at the end of the eighteenth and chiefly in the nineteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> This army was used to strengthen the power of the new centralized government, to defend Ottoman territory, and eventually to destroy the power of the local gentry, the *ayans*. The modern army annihilated the Janizaries in 1826 and improved itself by borrowing Western techniques and ideas and by acquiring certain professional characteristics that distinguished it further from the civilian bureaucracy. High positions were still reserved for the Ottoman aristocracy, that is, the royal bureaucracy. Lacking a new basic philosophical or social orientation, the Ottoman rulers in the nineteenth century drew heavily on traditional values by allowing for change only to the extent that it was necessary to preserve harmony among ruling groups. They could not tamper with the loyalties and value systems of the masses, particularly with those relating to the army. Religion, holy war, martyrdom, and the struggle against the infidel had created a set of values among the population that, if preserved intact, secured efficient military performance on the battlefield and guaranteed the survival of the state. A practical problem of loyalty and service to the state emerged in 1855 when general conscription was introduced, and, for lack of suitable emotional foundations that could assure the loyalty of Christian subjects to the Empire, military service was limited to Muslims and chiefly to Turks.<sup>7</sup> The Ottoman rulers were

<sup>5</sup> H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West* (London, 1951), I, pt. 1, 26-38.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London, 1961), 7-14; Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, 1963), and bibliography therein. See also Serif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton, 1962), 185.

<sup>7</sup> Lewis quotes Cevdet Pasha on this vital issue, in *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 332.



compelled to rely basically on the Muslims' values and loyalties stemming from Islam and the *Gazi* mystique of warfare, even though these had been rendered quite anachronistic by change in the balance of world power and social developments within the Empire. "Modernist" intellectuals like Namık Kemal (1840–88), bent on developing a new concept of fatherland, symbols, and images of loyalty to the state, drew the essence of their views from the *Gazi* traditions. Namık Kemal was not concerned with the masses but with the intelligentsia, who seemed to depart from the traditions of heroism and sacrifice that had been, according to his ideological-nationalist interpretation of history, the chief characteristics of the traditional Ottoman political-culture. His play *Vatan Yahut Silistre* (Fatherland or Silistre), which has a direct relevance to my topic, played an important part in the ideological indoctrination of Ottoman and Turkish officers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>8</sup> This indoctrination aimed at creating loyalty and dedication to the modern state, even though the cultural and psychological roots of this loyalty lay in traditional values. The military, who subscribed to the traditions and values of the past and at the same time sought modernity, appears to have been ideally suited to achieve the transition to a new level of political life. On the one hand it had the physical capabilities, the organization, and the ideas necessary to reorganize the political system, while on the other it represented the symbols of state power and political culture as understood by the masses.

The ideas that the military represented the highest virtues of the state and that the state was synonymous with society and its cultural-religious identity played important unifying roles. All these cultural factors further consolidated the elite position of the military, although the bonds between the elite and the masses were bound eventually to lose their traditionalist content. In any case, viewed in retrospect, it appears that both during the ascendancy of the Young Turks (1908–18) and early in the Republic (1923) the basic loyalties to the state, and particularly the popular concepts about the army and military service, changed

<sup>8</sup>Of this play and particularly of a poem that epitomizes its philosophy, Mehmet Kaplan, a Turkish scholar wrote: "This poem is one of the rare works that has gone beyond literary limits and has imbued future generations with love of country. . . . This poem is the first and most powerful model of a social poem and of social mysticism. . . . It is at the basis of all social poems written in modern Turkish literature." *Şiir Tahlilleri* [Poem Analyses] (Istanbul, 1958), 33. Another famous Islamist, Mehmet Murat, who was known as Mizancı, wrote that this play was a unique work that expressed the cultural characteristics of the Turks as shaped by history and traditions. *Mizan*, Jan. 19, 1888. There is a striking similarity in tone and expression between the political terminology developed in literature in the nineteenth century and the expressions used in the declaration of the Saviors Officers' Group, a terrorist military organization established in 1912 to oppose the dictatorial and inefficient policies of the Union and Progress government: "The fatherland expects sacrifice of us. . . . The Ottoman officers [should] save our honored nation, which has raised and fed us, from domination and disappearance." See the complete text in Tarık Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasi Partiler* [Political Parties in Turkey] (Istanbul, 1952), 353. Namık Kemal's *Vatan* caused popular demonstrations. Audiences acclaimed the author with grateful cries that the Ottomans had finally found their identity and mission. Eventually the author was exiled for creating unrest, but the play continued to be read extensively. Namık Kemal ultimately became a venerated national poet primarily because of this play. For the symbolic appeal of political images, see Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David Apter (New York, 1964), 58.



little.<sup>9</sup> Reforms in the Republic, thus, were carried out with relative ease by the government, since Atatürk, the president after 1923, was also a venerated military commander with the title of *Gazi*, a man who stood as the guarantor of ancient bonds tying the masses to the leader. It is true that at no time in the Republic did active army personnel occupy positions in the administration, except for a short period in the 1920's when the chief of staff was a member of the cabinet and army commanders of the border areas were also governors of those provinces. Atatürk, who as early as 1909 opposed interference by the military in politics as a matter of principle, turned this principle into law in 1924, and from then until 1960 officers were barred from politics.<sup>10</sup> The highest government leaders still had military backgrounds, but while holding civilian jobs they resigned their commissions. Indeed, every cabinet from 1920 to 1948 included some ministers who had been military officers. From 1950 to 1960 the cabinets consisted mainly but not exclusively of civilians. The main question, however, was not the army's direct participation in government but the overall relation of the military to the regime and the state. In this respect, continuity rather than change prevailed. The army's constant association with political change and reform was the result of its historical position in the structure of the state and in the traditional ruling order based on it.

The multi-party experiment beginning in 1945-46 brought about a new relationship between the masses and the elites. In essence, this experiment, appearing as a struggle between the ruling Republican party and the opposition Democratic party, was, in fact, in its early years, a mobilization of the masses against the ruling groups. The direct vote without property or literacy qualifications, the impartial election system adopted in 1950, and especially the establishment of a countrywide network of political organizations in towns and villages (*ocağs* and *bucakşs*) headed by local leaders, provided the means for political organization and participation at the grass-roots level.<sup>11</sup>

The government controlled by the Republican party was criticized as having

<sup>9</sup> Bitter criticism was directed by conservatives against the Freemasons with whom the Young Turks and army officers had close relations in Salonica prior to the Revolution of 1908. It seems that the conservatives were afraid that the anti-militaristic, humanistic views promoted by the Freemasons would weaken the army's fighting zeal. Later in the Republic, the Freemasons were described as cosmopolitans and promoters of capitalism and were condemned in behalf of nationalism and etatism. Actually the traditional concept of leadership was not viewed as requiring an absolute obedience imposed by force but as a voluntary participation in actions necessary for reaching common goals. There was between the ordinary soldier and his officer a certain *esprit de corps*, which has survived until the present day. I know several cases in which generals, sometimes appointed to ambassadorial positions, corresponded with their former subordinates, some of whom were simple *çavuş* (squad leaders) living in Anatolian villages. This kind of paternal relationship has declined.

<sup>10</sup> The fact that between 1920 and 1960 Turkish politics remained relatively immune to military interference had much to do with the nature of the new state, its elite philosophy, and the influence of the "civilianized" military in government. The best study of the ruling groups in this period is by Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). See also my study on the elite philosophy and ideological developments in the 1930's, "Die Geschichte der ideologischen Strömungen seit der Begründung der türkischen Republik: Der Populismus und seine Vertreter," *Bustan*, I-II (1962), 17-26.

<sup>11</sup> See my *Turkey's Politics, The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton, 1959).

erred in its basic duty to achieve the "good life," and was thought instead to have imposed "tyranny" on the people, since its rational, secular authority was not rooted in the traditional system of beliefs.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, when the opposition parties began to demand individual freedom and political rights, the masses interpreted this as a call to reject a power group that had lost its moral justification. But in actual practice the opposition's demands, based in the complexities of traditional concepts of power and authority, emerged in the guise of democracy and political liberalism. In popularly appealing forms and in a traditionalist spirit, the Democrats criticized the bureaucracy as the "permanent power group oppressing the people"; thus its leaders appeared as true saviors, similar to the ancient heroes of Islam. But the expectation from *hürriyet* (freedom), which became a magic word for arousing instant mass enthusiasm, consisted of a deliverance not only from "the oppression"—all rule without valid justification is tyranny—of "Godless rulers," but also from economic and social inequality, for the elites had indeed monopolized the scarce resources of the country.

The Democratic party's electoral victory of 1950 and its assumption of governmental power came as a surprise to everyone, not because the Democrats won but chiefly because the Republicans were willing to accede to the electorate. The victory was a political miracle hailed as a "White Revolution—achieved by the people" in some books and pamphlets published in the countryside.<sup>13</sup> During 1946–54 conservative landlords and ancient *ulema* families led the masses, but later the intensification of communication through a good network of roads, the emergence of mass-circulation newspapers, the extensive use of radios, and an increase in economic activity accelerated social mobility and changed the nature of popular demands. Professionals, small businessmen, and entrepreneurs of all kinds acquired economic power and social standing. The demands for more economic development and for social justice came not only from lower-class urban groups and the intelligentsia, but also from the peasants who saw at long last hope for a real economic and political emancipation.<sup>14</sup>

Thus a new social group with pragmatic leanings and accumulated resentment against the old statist elite had come to power. It did not miss any chance to use the bureaucracy and military for its own ends while undermining their social

<sup>12</sup> Villagers often applauded Celal Bayar, the head of the opposition Democratic party, with cries "*yaşa, paşam*" (long live my general), even though Bayar had no military rank. The peasants explained that according to their traditional belief only generals dared to oppose the government. Since Bayar criticized the government, they deduced that he was a *paşa*.

<sup>13</sup> Some of these books expressed the viewpoint of the local family dynasties. See Cavit Ersen, *Beyaz İhtilal* [White Revolt] (Adana, 1953). This book, along with others that supposedly glorified the Democratic victory of 1950, was suppressed by the military in 1960. Notice the title of a similar work: Acer Tuncer, *Beyaz İhtilalin Üç Büyük Lideri, Bayar, Menderes, Koralan* [The Three Leaders of the White Revolution] (İzmir, 1959).

<sup>14</sup> It is reliably reported that during a discussion on the education of the peasants Atatürk was told by one of the participants: "My general, do not educate them, for the first thing they would do once they are enlightened would be to murder us." Atatürk replied: "*Nerede o günler*" (literally, "where are those days?") meaning that he would be happy to see the peasant reach such a level of emancipation as to assert his independence and question his leaders.

prestige. It also regarded religious freedom as a basic right of the individual.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, inflation after 1953 undermined the living standards of the salaried groups and made them look with envy and resentment at the uncouth leaders from the countryside who amassed wealth and decided the destiny of Turkey.

The multi-party experiment of 1945-60 naturally affected the military. At the beginning the officers had hoped that the forthcoming parliamentary regime might provide some solution to the army's long-standing internal problems, such as promotions, better pay, and adequate quarters.<sup>16</sup> Like all other social groups, they regarded the solution of social and economic problems as dependent solely on political change. Fearful that the Republicans would not yield power, as their misconduct in the elections of 1946 seemed to forecast, a group of officers organized in 1948 a secret association to prevent future election frauds. Its leaders included General Fahri Belen, Colonels Şeref Konuralp, Seyfi Kurtbek, Major Cemal Yıldırım, and several other officers in Istanbul and Ankara. Some of the officers personally assured the Democrats that the army was supporting them. This assurance quelled the Democrats' fears, which had been aroused by some older generals who wanted to prevent a change of government, and by implication it served notice to the Republicans that the entire army did not support them. Nevertheless, at least four generals did approach İsmet İnönü, the president in 1950, and assured him of support if he wanted to stay in power.<sup>17</sup> İnönü refused, and the Democrats took over the government in 1950 with a certain uneasy feeling about the future attitudes of the military. Grateful for the moral assistance rendered behind the scene, the Democrats gave ministerial positions to Fahri Belen and Seyfi Kurtbek, the leaders of the secret organization, which shortly thereafter began to disperse. The relative proportion of military men in the assembly and in high governmental jobs also diminished considerably. Yet the Democrats' victory of 1950 brought little relief to the military as a whole, although some high-ranking commanders were given special privileges and jobs in an effort to win them over. In public pronouncements the Democrats and their supporters vowed unlimited respect for the army and claimed that they were all soldiers and held the army in the greatest esteem

<sup>15</sup> The late Ali Fuad Başgil, a former professor of constitutional law at the University of Istanbul and a presidential candidate in 1961 on the Justice party ticket, defended religious freedom as part of individual rights and freedoms. According to Başgil, the basic need of a human being is to illuminate his mind through knowledge and to "submit his will, after a moral education, to the service of his mind, and to strive to achieve the ideal chosen by his conscience." The goal of the state, "as a human environment and organization . . . is to enable the individual to live his [chosen] life. It is obvious that the state is not an environment like a sheep corral, which is established to satisfy material and animal needs, such as feeding, defense, and love-making." *Yeni Sabah*, July 18, 1960. Başgil's articles have been assembled in *İlmin Işığında Günün Meseleleri* [Today's Problems in the Light of Science] (Istanbul, 1960). For Başgil's version of the Revolution, see his *La Revolution Militaire de 1960 en Turquie* (Geneva, 1963).

<sup>16</sup> Many units were quartered in mosques, for some of the best barracks were in the Balkan territories ceded by the Ottoman Empire in 1913-18.

<sup>17</sup> *Milliyet*, May 27, 1962; Abdi İpekçi and Ömer Sami Coşar, *İhtilâlin İç Yüzü* [The Inside of Revolution] (Istanbul, 1965), 15; Harris, "Role of the Military," 65.

according to national tradition. But privately they did not hesitate to insinuate that Turkey's stagnation was caused by a surviving militarist mentality that had deprived society of creativeness, initiative, and normal life.<sup>18</sup> Behind this attitude there was the apprehension that as a body the Democratic party, unlike the Republican, had had no direct share in the War of Liberation of 1919-22 or in the establishment of the Republic and could not, therefore, hope for military support in a showdown with the statist groups. The apprehension was proven valid by the events of 1950-60.<sup>19</sup>

The Democrats acted with a certain caution and impartiality until the elections of 1954. The overwhelming popular support they received at that time led them to believe that intensified economic development and material inducements to the peasantry offered the best chance to maintain their widespread popularity, which in turn would discourage any group, including the military, from seizing power. Meanwhile, aid derived from the Truman Doctrine in 1947 and association with NATO after 1952 resulted in a dramatic modernization of weapons, training, and organization, and in more democratic relations in the military establishment. Some technical branches of the services, such as the air force, armored units, engineers, ordnance, and sections of the navy, acquired high prestige. These were specialized sections, which had more contact with the West. In fact, a number of officers were trained in the United States and Germany, and some of them were able to save enough to buy cars and other consumer goods and thus formed a privileged group among the military. Therefore, the rate of modernization, measured in terms of technological skills, appears to have been much higher among the military than among civilians in 1946-60. Meanwhile, some important defense matters, including the prestigious NATO affairs, were taken over by the minister of foreign affairs, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, a descendant of a Polish political refugee converted after 1848. Zorlu's pedantic manner did not help him make many friends among the military. The *Erkânı Harbiye*, chiefs of staff who had a certain autonomy and had represented the viewpoint of the military, was placed under the ministry of defense.<sup>20</sup> The minister, following a practice initiated by the Republicans prior to 1950, was usually a civilian. In the government itself the influence of the officers who had sided with the Democrats vanished. Highly respected people, such as General Fahri Belen, were pushed into the background. Meanwhile the cost of living in 1960 was about eleven times what it had been in 1950-53, while salaries had barely doubled, causing hardship for those in the military and assigning to

<sup>18</sup> Premier Menderes' uncourteous criticism of some generals for their failure to curb the ruinous anti-Greek riots in Istanbul of September 1955 further turned the army against the Democrats. Menderes reportedly had stated that he would, if necessary, run the military establishment with reserve officers. This was certainly an insult to the standing army.

<sup>19</sup> The Republican party was based on the *Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetleri* (Defense of Rights Association), which played a crucial role in the War of Liberation (1919-22).

<sup>20</sup> Fahri Belen, *Demokrasiden Diktatörlüğe* [From Democracy to Dictatorship] (Istanbul, 1960), 35-37. See also Ahmet Hamdi Başar, *Yaşadığımız Devrin İçyüzü* [The Inside of Our Time] (Istanbul, 1960), 90-97.

them, as individuals, the responsibility for all the shortcomings of Turkey. On the other hand, the newly rich politicians, landlords, and entrepreneurs placed emphasis on wealth, luxury, and material pursuits, all of which contrasted sharply with the ascetic idealism preached in the army. The social standing of the military deteriorated, while the values cherished in the past disintegrated under the assault of the materialism supposedly promoted by the new power groups.

Many of the officers I interviewed after the Revolution complained that in the 1950's some landlords would not even bother to show them houses for rent, for "they could not afford it"; some store owners looked annoyed at the prospect of showing expensive items to this impoverished group; waiters with an eye on tips preferred to serve richer customers; and even mothers, who had once been highly honored to have officers as sons-in-law, often advised their daughters not to marry men with "shiny uniforms but empty pockets." Some officers, hard-pressed to support big families, took up such menial jobs as bus driving. Others resigned from the army altogether, since interest in this previously highly-honored career was well on the decline. A communiqué by the ministry of defense in 1960, intended to justify the high pensions and bonuses offered to the retired officers, describes well the economic plight of the military during the rule of the Democrats:

Respect for the past is one of the [conditions] for looking with confidence into the future and for surviving as a nation. Our recent history is a treasury, which no other nation possesses, worthy of respect. In this history, the army . . . represents our sacred existence. It was proudly affirmed [by Premier Menderes] in recent years that a millionaire rose in each city district. Meanwhile army generals, seventy-five years of age, who had retired with TL 250 [twenty-seven dollars] a month, had to do translations to earn a living. Retired colonels had to feed themselves with tea and bread. Finally, we paid close to half of our salary for rent. Certainly we set no good example for the defense of the motherland and for the younger generations.<sup>21</sup>

All these indignities were part of a general trend toward materialism and the downgrading of the army, which began, according to Alparslan Türkeş, who was a leading revolutionary and is presently the chairman of the *Millî Hareket partisi* (National Action party), during the war years when the military career turned into a "condemned profession of destitution . . . and the officers became despised because of war riches."<sup>22</sup> The morale of the army was already very low. The Democrats, according to the military, rendered it worse by their selfish materialism, which was communicated to the masses together with a sense

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 7, 1960.

<sup>22</sup> See the memoirs of Alparslan Türkeş in *Yeni İstanbul*, Feb. 15, 1962. Türkeş wrote that during the war years a new class of entrepreneurs had emerged who were influential in bringing the Democrats to power. Türkeş attacked the entire party system, the Republicans, and especially İnönü. It was this attack that secured him, temporarily, considerable popularity in the Justice party among a small but vociferous group of racialists and arch-nationalists to whom his nationalist views held considerable appeal. Eventually Türkeş became the head of the Peasant National Republican party, which later changed its name to the National Action party.

of power and self-importance that destroyed the "moral foundation" of society. "The Democrats had begun their work by distrusting the army," declared an officer. "They did not love the army and did not understand that it was a part of the nation. They insulted the army in their conventions, they generalized individual incidents in such a manner as to hurt the army's self-respect."<sup>23</sup> Others claimed that from the first day of their rule the Democrats began to consider the army and its officers "worthless and despicable." "They made those wearing the uniform—the noblest heritage of our history—feel ashamed." Consequently, as one officer put it, he "took off [his] beloved uniform and began to wear civilian clothes." In addition the Democrats "took all kinds of measures to undermine the position of the military in the national culture. They destroyed the old belief that going into the army made one a man."<sup>24</sup> Even the police force on which the Democrats relied for power began to act discourteously toward officers, molesting and arresting them.<sup>25</sup> One revolutionary officer described the psychological impact of these developments to me in the following terms:

You must understand the special psychology of the military if you want to grasp the real causes of the Revolution. We, the military, are brought up with a keen sense of honor and an absolute faith in our code of ethics and our superiority. For you civilians a general is a top officer; for us he is a kind of demi-god, the symbol of our values, an ideal rank toward which all the younger officers strive. What would happen to this value system if younger officers should see their general open the door and bow to a civilian minister?<sup>26</sup>

A major who commanded a War College battalion during the Revolution described the Revolution as resulting from the officers' determination to preserve the national heritage:

The Democrats tried to eradicate from school the [nationalist-idealist] faith and manner of upbringing. . . . They strove to destroy national feelings, national emotions, and the notions of morality, honor, and dignity. They caused one group to live in misery next to [another's] limitless ambition for money, amusement, luxury, and squandering. Materialism became the master of everything. Moral feelings and thoughts disappeared. The deposed [government] tried to put this nation to sleep with such [materialist] morphine. . . . All these means are used by an enemy to destroy a country from inside. . . . [The Democratic government's] activities in this field alone suffice to stigmatize them as traitors to the fatherland and to make them punishable by death.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Muzaffer Özdağ, quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, July 2, 1960. *Cumhuriyet* published a series of personal interviews with the revolutionary officers.

<sup>24</sup> Rifat Baykal, quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 11, 1960; Orhan Erkanlı, quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, July 20, 24, 1960; see also *Milliyet*, May 28, 1962.

<sup>25</sup> War College cadets, who had been outraged at the way the police mistreated some arrested officers, demonstrated against the government in May 1960. They wanted to get hold of some policemen to "teach them a lesson." After the Revolution, the police were disarmed for some time.

<sup>26</sup> Another officer, Turan Yavsin, in answering those who criticized the army's salary increase, stated: "Today officers who have reached the highest level of education are in great need. An officer who does not see himself on a superior level in society cannot be expected to act that way in front of an enemy." Quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 8, 1960.

<sup>27</sup> Avni Elevli, *Hürriyet İçin* [For Freedom] (Ankara, 1960), 155. Cahit Tanyol, a professor, in turn welcomed the Revolution as a "true moral revolution, a downgrading of money and position. The Revolution brought back to us the values we missed and considered lost." Tanyol, in *Seçkin Devrim* [Select Revolution], ed. Yalçın Günel (Ankara, 1960), 32.



The rebellious response of the military to these conditions was natural and expected. Consequently the nucleus of the first secret military organization was established in November 1954, after the Democrats won a smashing electoral victory and seemed determined to pursue on a larger scale their previous "liberal" economic policies. Among the founders of the organization were most of the people who had carried out the successful coup d'état in 1960—Orhan Kabibay and Dündar Seyhan, who were captains at the time, Sadi Kocaş and Major Faruk Güventürk, who later became a general. In 1956 the organization took a more definite shape with the addition of Majors Sezai Okan, Osman Köksal, Orhan Erkanlı, Talat Aydemir, and Adnan Çelikbaş; Alparslan Türkeş and Sami Küçük joined in 1958-59.<sup>28</sup> The first organization was established in Istanbul at the War Academy, a second one in Ankara, and the two eventually agreed to cooperate. Significantly enough, one of the founders of the first organization told me that his intention was to name it *İade-i İtibar Cemiyeti* (Society for the Restoration of Respect). I asked him to explain the first and most basic inner motivation that had led him to think about a revolutionary organization, and he answered:

The prestige of the army was declining. Money seemed to have become everything. An officer no longer had status in society. It hurt me to see officers forced to take jobs of all kinds and wear civilian clothes and feel proud in them. . . . I was on leave in Izmir with a friend at a restaurant filled with well-heeled politicians and businessmen who received adulation and respect while we were ignored. I looked at my friend and told him that things could not go on like this. Corruption and materialism seemed to dominate everything. It was not that we needed money, for officers had always been ill-paid. But we had had honor and respect in the past. Now these were gone. I asked my friend what we were waiting for and he nodded significantly. I soon discovered that most of my colleagues shared my feelings. From there on the question was one of organization, planning, and waiting for the right moment to act since the Democrats had already prepared the groundwork of the Revolution.

A detailed history of the secret organization provides interesting material for evaluating the officers' organizational skill, their intimate knowledge of government, the psychology of their own colleagues and of the bureaucracy, and the loyalty among the military men. The organization was composed exclusively of military men and at no time did it establish direct contact with civilians despite some vague attempts to sound out some politicians, including İnönü, who turned down the suggestion of a revolution.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, the military never achieved agreement on a common ideology or on the policies to be followed after the Revolution. One or two attempts to decide the length of military rule after revolution ended in violent disagreement. A minority headed by

<sup>28</sup> For the history of the secret organization printed in a series of articles in *Milliyet*, May 7-July 13, 1962, see İpekçi and Coşar, *İhtilalin İç Yüzü*. See also Öncü, Feb. 19-Apr. 22, 1962; *Yeni İstanbul*, Feb. 15-17, 1962; *Zafer Milletindir* [Victory Belongs to the Nation], Dec. 1, 1961; and *Büyük Zafer* [Great Victory], Jan. 19-Mar. 1, 1962.

<sup>29</sup> The revolutionaries approached İnönü to head their organization, but he categorically refused. In another instance one of the members panicked and denounced some of its chief leaders to the government, but he failed to expose the organization because of loyalty among the suspected officers and assistance from military investigators.



Türkeş defended a prolonged stay in power, whereas the majority favored the return to a parliamentary regime in about three months. The only decision agreed upon was to establish the Committee of National Unity (CNU) to supervise the transition to civilian rule. Beneath this failure to reach agreement there lay personality conflicts and ideological differences ranging from sheer reactionism to social radicalism, all of which came out after the Revolution.<sup>30</sup>

The background of the thirty-eight officers who formed the Committee of National Unity after 1960 is revealing. They ranked as follows: five generals, seven colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, thirteen majors, and eight captains.<sup>31</sup> The actual role of the generals in organizing the initial secret association and in carrying out the Revolution was minimal, yet their presence was of vital importance. Many officers, deeply attached to the traditions of military hierarchy, wanted to see in the organization a "chain of command" culminating with generals at the top. For months, indeed, the lower ranking officers who organized the secret association looked for a suitable general to head it. Eventually General Cemal Gürsel, president of Turkey in 1960-66, was won over, and he was instrumental, while commander of the ground forces, in appointing revolutionary officers to key positions in the defense ministry. Some generals joined the revolutionary association shortly after the coup and were assigned immediately to high positions.<sup>32</sup> During the Revolution the military units were commanded only by majors and colonels (except for the War College cadets officered by Brigadier Sıtkı Ulay), and consequently several military units in Ankara, although agreeing to support the action, remained inactive for lack of orders from the proper command channels.

The overwhelming majority of CNU members were between thirty-five and forty-six years of age.<sup>33</sup> This indicates that the beginning of the military careers of these officers and their difficult junior years coincided with the period of multi-party life and the downgrading of the old ruling elites. The majority of officers came from the lower middle classes. About twenty belonged to families of government officials and officers, three were related to high Ottoman families, and only three were sons of true peasants, while five claiming rural origin were actually sons of officials or intellectuals, who had drifted into villages but were not

<sup>30</sup> On the currents of thought in the junta, see *Milliyet*, June 17-July 13, 1962; *Le Monde*, Jan. 30, 1962; F. W. Fernau, "Courants sociaux dans la deuxième république turque," *Orient*, XXIII (1962), 17-42; and *idem*, "Le retour des 'quatorze' en Turquie," *Orient*, XXV (1963), 17-24.

<sup>31</sup> Biographies of the officers appeared in *Cumhuriyet*, July 15-Aug. 11, 1960. See also a brief official list in *Cumhuriyet*, June 16, 1960; Özbudun, *The Role of the Military*, 19; Weiker, *The Turkish Revolution*; and the *New York Times*, June 13, 1961.

<sup>32</sup> The revolutionary officers I interviewed were not pleased with the reliance on generals, but had to follow the generals' advice in order to secure a following among rank-and-file officers. In private they were highly satirical in describing the hesitancy of some generals to join the Revolution and the manner in which their adherence was secured. See *Öncü*, Mar. 6-Apr. 22, 1962, for the memoirs of Müşerref Hekimoğlu, a close associate of some CNU members. The memoirs provide illuminating information on the background of the Revolution.

<sup>33</sup> The age breakdown was as follows: two between 62 and 65, three between 52 and 53 (all generals), twelve between 40 and 46, fifteen between 35 and 39, five between 31 and 34, and one was 27. See *Cumhuriyet*, June 16, 1960; *Büyük Kurtuluş* [Great Salvation] (Istanbul, 1960), 99; and Özbudun, *The Role of the Military*, 29.

identified with village life and values. The remainder belonged to families in various small businesses. Four officers had been born abroad (one in Cyprus and three in Thrace) and two of these—Alparslan Türkeş, a nationalist, and Sami Küçük, a social democrat—had an important impact on the ideological disputes in the Committee. At least fifteen CNU members belonged to families that had changed place and occupation, usually for the worse. Eight officers were born in large urban centers—Istanbul, Ankara, Ismir—and the rest in smaller towns, usually other than province capitals. Possibly the most important aspect of this geographical background is that the officers' early youth and the period of their elementary education was spent in small towns dominated culturally and economically by a few well-to-do conservative families.

As a whole, however, social background seemed to have had less impact than education on the officers' attitudes. Their reading habits indicate that they preferred biographies of great men and novels with social content written in a romantic vein. Namık Kemal's very important play *Vatan*, which was previously mentioned as a source of nationalist feeling, was preferred reading. But it was a book about Finland, published initially in 1928 and reprinted eight times between 1930 and 1960, that had an overwhelming influence.<sup>34</sup> This book, Grigory Spiridonovich Petrov's *In the Country of the White Lilies*, was written in an absorbing style. It followed Thomas Carlyle and Leo Tolstoy in glorifying the hero and presented a romantic picture of the army as a brotherhood in which people trained not only for war but also for peacetime duties, "a school for people" where useful skills were taught.

Their reading of *Vatan*, along with similar works of literature, indicates that many revolutionary officers drew inspiration from ideas and values of indigenous origin that were eventually incorporated in populist and nationalist ideology.<sup>35</sup> This is no mere coincidence. Much of Turkish political thought and the at-

<sup>34</sup> See Ali Haydar Taner, *Beyaz Zambaklar Ülkesinde* (Istanbul, 1960), 39-56. The author, Grigory Spiridonovich Petrov (1868-1925), was educated in a theological seminary in Russia. He was both a priest (he later renounced his vows) and a teacher who sought to enlighten the masses through a liberal and democratic education. A fervent disciple of Tolstoy and a political activist (he was a member of the second Duma), Petrov published the *Ruskaya Slovo* [Russian Voice], which was widely read. During the Russian Revolution he escaped to Turkey and then settled in Yugoslavia, where he became a professor. The manuscript of the book under discussion was sent along with other manuscripts to Bulgaria. It was translated into Bulgarian by Dimitri Bojkov and published for an educational-cultural group in 1925. It had seven known editions in Bulgarian. Taner translated the book into Turkish by using the Bulgarian version, but omitted the five chapters that discussed the relations between religion and the priesthood on the one hand and the masses on the other. The Turkish translation, repeatedly reprinted, was recommended strongly by the ministries of defense and education to teachers and officers. The book was hailed in Turkey as describing a model for a democratic nation; it suggested the proper methods for development, preserving freedom, establishing healthy relations between the intellectuals and the masses, and adopting constructive ways useful to the nation; and it provided an example of real patriotism and of the dedication of the learned to the welfare and advancement of the masses. The Turkish version was used for the Arabic translation, which was published in Baghdad by Aziz Sami as *Fi Bilad iz Zambakat*. For the final and complete Turkish translation see Türker Acaroğlu, *Ak Zambaklar Ülkesinde* (Istanbul, 1968).

<sup>35</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, July 2-24, 1960, mentions the following as literary works that inspired the revolutionary officers: Reşat Nuri's novel *Calıkışu* [Golden Crested Wren] (Istanbul, 1928), describing the life of a woman teacher; Yaşar Kemal's novel *İnce Memed* (Istanbul, 1958), translated into English as *Memed My Hawk* (London, 1961), dramatizing in a romantic vein the exploits of a Turkish Robin Hood whose target was landlords; Atatürk's speeches, Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, and Lincoln's biography and speeches were also mentioned.

titudes and value system of the intelligentsia have been determined largely by native conditions and cultural traditions that assimilated many outside influences, including those from the West, into their own images of life and society.<sup>36</sup> Deeply engraved in the minds of many individuals were the inherited symbols and the mental yearnings for the "good life," a still undefined ideal form of existence.

Practically all thirty-eight officers spoke or read one or two foreign languages (a few subscribed to Western newspapers) and at least thirty-six had been abroad on visits or tours of duty. The exposure to outside influences resulted in a sharper awareness of Turkey's material backwardness and a desire to reflect abroad a better image of the country as a democratic, modernized republic. As individuals, the officers cherished moral virtues and the ideals of glory and sacrifice, honor, prestige, and loyalty to the fatherland, family, profession, and friends. All of this was balanced by self-control and poise and a determination to preserve their professional reputation.<sup>37</sup>

Thirty-two members of the CNU were staff officers, the elite of the armed forces. In fact the revolutionary organization was conceived and directed by them. Staff rank is a qualification for becoming *paşa* (general) and is won through a rigorous competition that involves studies at *Harbiye* (War College), satisfactory field service, and successful completion of courses at the War Academy. Far better trained than the civil servants, competent in technology and matters of organization, the staff officers are deemed to possess outstanding planning abilities and moral and intellectual qualities that confer upon them, *ipso facto*, leadership positions in the army and the nation. Indeed the struggle for modernization in this century was led largely by staff officers, the famous *Erkani Harb*.<sup>38</sup>

I asked one of the key CNU members whether they, as military men, were professionally qualified to rule a civilian society beset by conflicts and not used

<sup>36</sup> I refer to various expressions, images, thoughts, and attitudes rooted in the native culture. These cannot be analyzed without an extensive study of each word, each expression, and its relation to the system of values. It is not uncommon for a sober politician making a serious speech on some current issue to end by stating, "We are the sons of a people who has fought by sword its way to the gates of Vienna" (the siege of 1683). Another popular romantic expression inherited from Namık Kemal's interpretation of history is "the Byzantine Empire with its gigantic fortresses and strong armies and famous scholars disintegrated before a handful of Turkish tribesmen who had established a state in a small town around Bursa." *Cumhuriyet*, May 18, 1963.

<sup>37</sup> One member of the CNU, now a lifetime senator, asked the government to intervene to delete from the film *Laurence of Arabia*, when shown in the United States, those sections casting an unfavorable light upon Turkish officers. *Milliyet*, Jan. 23, 1963.

<sup>38</sup> A writer, discussing the reforms planned by the CNU in 1960, found that "the staff officers' ability in planning is being used in civilian matters, in the five-year development plans, and in efforts to raise the people's living standards." *Forum*, Nov. 1, 1960, p. 14. A comparative study of commissioned officers and non-staff officers may throw significant light upon the sources of tensions in the army. The non-commissioned officers, who cannot advance beyond a rather low rank, are reportedly to be among the most dissatisfied and revolutionary-minded group in the army. In 1970, some non-commissioned officers' wives defied a ban and organized several marches in various towns to protest a personnel draft law that left the non-commissioned officers underpaid. Reportedly the generals were so alarmed by this unprecedented break of discipline that they sought to impose drastic restrictions on the country as a whole.

to rigid discipline. In his view, the main problem was to create the ideal leadership cadres at the top, capable of conceiving reforms, drawing up plans, and supervising the civilian technicians and economists who would execute the blue-prints.<sup>39</sup>

The officers' claim to leadership stemmed directly from their association with the state. The state, in their view, represented the essence of Turkish society and was the source of all virtues, moral standards, and the vehicle for bringing the entire society into the modern age.<sup>40</sup>

The officers regarded the army as the basis of the Republic and considered themselves guardians of the state and of Atatürk reforms. In fact, Article 34 of the old military code charged the military with the duty of defending the state. One of the CNU members expressed the idea in the following manner:

If the administration in the country fails to provide leadership, if there is not a constitutional court, a senate, who is going to defend the Republic? Naturally the army. Those who established the first Republic thought of the army as its sole guarantor, and expressed this idea in Article 34 of the military internal organizational code. In this sense the Revolution is not only legal but also lawful.<sup>41</sup>

Article 34, formally incorporated into the Provisional Constitution of June 12, 1960, was invoked to legitimize the Revolution as a sacred legal duty against the old government, which had endangered the Turkish homeland and national existence by inciting citizens to fight each other.<sup>42</sup> Actually, the article was borrowed from the Prussian military code at the turn of the century when German military missions trained the army.<sup>43</sup>

The conception of state and authority in general held by the military was in-

<sup>39</sup> On August 26, 1960, ten ministers were summarily dismissed for conflict of views and failure to follow the directives from the top. *Ulus*, May 28-30, 1960. Orhan Erkanlı commented on the military-civilian duality as follows: "The government [cabinet] did not and could not follow in the [revolutionary] footsteps of the [CNU]. It did not and could not show the desired activity; it did not and could not use the authority and opportunities at its disposal. The arrangement was faulty at its foundations. It was established in a distorted way and functioned accordingly and produced unavoidably [ill] consequences." *Milliyet*, Mar. 26, 1963.

<sup>40</sup> Pertev Demirhan, one of the oldest living generals, wrote in the introduction to a small booklet on the history of the War College that the "basic power of this [Turkish] nation, in addition to real unity, rests in moral powers such as faith, virtue, and morality." Muharrem Giray, *Şanlı Harbiyenin Tarihi* [The History of the Glorious War College] (Istanbul, 1961), 2.

<sup>41</sup> Özdağ, quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, July 24, 1960. Mehmet Karan, another member of the CNU, expressed the same idea: "Those who betray Atatürk's reforms are doomed to meet the same fate [as the Democrats]. The youth and the army shall always, like Damocles' sword, hang over the head of such miserable people." Quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, Aug. 5, 1960. The new Law #211 of January 4, 1961, Article 35, defined the duty of the military as follows: "to protect and look after [kollamak ve korumak] the Turkish homeland and the Republic as defined by the Constitution." Article 39 of the same law defined the soldier as "loyal to the Republic, having love of country and high morality, showing obedience to superiors, perseverance in the discharge of duty, courage, aggressiveness, disregard for life if necessary, the ability to get along with his fellows, mutual assistance, orderliness, abstinence from prohibited things, concern for health, and the ability to keep secrets."

<sup>42</sup> The words of Article 34 were repeated once more when the CNU took an oath to return power to a parliamentary regime on June 24, 1960. See the text in *Ulus*, June 25, 1960.

<sup>43</sup> One officer declared: "The staff officers are generally under the influence of the philosophy of the German military that the officer is charged with the protection of the . . . state." *Milliyet*, May 29, 1962.

timately connected with nationalism,<sup>44</sup> which in turn was fostered by the memory of past glories in the Ottoman Empire that had been achieved by the military, all of which provided an ideological basis for interpreting current social and political events.<sup>45</sup> While all the glories of the Ottoman Empire were attributed to Turks, the decay and backwardness were placed squarely on foreign elements—the converted—who usurped control of the state and continued to preserve themselves by adjusting opportunistically to changing circumstances. A lengthy quotation from a book by General Fahri Belen, who was the head of a secret military organization in 1948 and a minister for a short time under the Democrats, links history with contemporary politics. Commenting on the fierce party struggle in 1958–59, he stated:

The country cannot possibly rid itself of parties, groups, and partisan efforts. This partisan mentality results from the traditions left by a small minority that ruled the state for three hundred years. After the abolition of these *Kapıkulu*,<sup>46</sup> their place was taken by their gangs and associates. Neither the *Meşrutiyet* [constitutional reforms of 1876 and 1908] nor the Republic could liquidate them entirely. The Kul gang usurped all the brilliant parts of our reforms like [parasite] insects. At the beginning they were passive spectators to our national war [1919–22] and to reforms, but later they became fly wheels to the rulers. These were the residue of the Ottoman dynasty. Their origin went back to the *devşirme* and even to the [subversive movements] of other climates. They spread the opinion that the Turk can be governed only by pressure, and they became supporters of absolutism. . . . They substituted for the welfare of the fatherland their own personal happiness and achieved fortunes without effort. . . . We have defined these people as derived from the *devşirme*. . . . Could the Turks who established this state and spread Islam have thought that one day the Christian children collected from the battlefields of Europe would take the administration in their hands, and with the fervor of oppressive bigotry turn upside down every stone in Anatolia saying that it was atheistic, unlawful, and rebellious. . . ?<sup>47</sup> Our reform movements did not stem

<sup>44</sup> A report submitted to the government in 1963 pointed out that the confused politics of a "civilian coalition government had prepared the ground for the emergence of fascism, under the mask of Kemalism and of religious reaction," all of which "threatened together or separately the authority of the state and the national integrity." *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 22, 1963. The result was a crackdown on Kurdish nationalists and leftists. *New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1963.

<sup>45</sup> Orhan Erkanlı describes in his memoirs that on the night of the Revolution, while on his way to take command of a tank unit stationed at the Davut Paşa barrack, he recalled the past glories of this establishment: "This barrack was built by Davut Paşa, one of Fatih's [Mehmed the Conqueror] commanders. For five hundred years . . . it was a shrine full of honor and glory . . . for our history. . . . The army marching to campaign in Rumelia [the Balkans] made its last stop at Davut Pasha. The war council was held here. . . . The army that besieged Vienna [1683] spent its last night here." *Milliyet*, July 4, 1962.

<sup>46</sup> The reference is to the *devşirme*, including the Janizaries and other latter-day converts to Islam during the Ottoman Empire. These were accused, as previously mentioned, of not having participated in the initial establishment of the Ottoman Empire. Gibb and Bowen refer to *Kul*, or the *devşirme*, as "slaves" of the Porte, "nearly all [of whom] adopted Islam, indeed, not because they were forced to do so, but because they could not otherwise obtain any influential position." Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, 44. Actually, the name "slave" is misleading, since the *devşirme* enjoyed much higher prestige than the free-born Muslims. For the classical theory supporting the view that the *devşirme* army defended the state against the subversive revolts in Anatolia, see Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Dağ Padişahları* [Mountain Lords] (Istanbul, 1962).

<sup>47</sup> General Belen refers here to social and religious upheavals, or the *Celali* revolts in Anatolia in 1596–1603, some of which were considered heretical movements directed against orthodoxy, and thus crushed mercilessly. Concerning the Christian children in the army, he qualifies his statement by saying: "The *devşirme* were the children of civilized people, but they received the education of slaves. They came out not from the discipline of science, but from that of obedience." *Demokrasimiz Nereye Gidiyor* [Where is Our Democracy Going] (Istanbul, 1959), 87.



from people or scientists but from authority. The Sultans and statesmen, however well intentioned, were not the true representatives of the people or of the currents of thought. . . . The *Meşrutiyet* and the Republic, although appearing to be national movements, have not entirely escaped being imposed from the top. The fact that people were not prepared [for change] was one of the causes of imposition [from the top] but the great error was not, in half a century, to prepare people for change.<sup>48</sup>

This theory of social history, however erroneous, was broad and confused enough to appeal to socialists, racialists, and nationalists alike, depending upon whether they defined the dominating group as "an exploiting class" or "renegades."<sup>49</sup> Consequently the military reinterpreted populism, another principle at the foundation of the Turkish Republic, as a call to the true sons of the people to deliver the masses from the oppression of powerful groups and to reshape the state organization according to the national characteristics of the majority.<sup>50</sup> Populism also acquired new social and economic dimensions that came to be expressed in the form of demands for social justice. The personal acquaintance of the officers with the grim poverty of the villagers during their duties in the countryside, and with the luxury and arrogance of the newly rich groups in the city, had much to do with their views on social justice.<sup>51</sup>

An examination of the ideological background of the officers would not be complete without defining their views on Islam and secularism. They supported all of Atatürk's secular reforms, and eventually defined the Revolution of 1960 as a continuation and reassertion of secularism. They condemned the use of religion for political purposes, censured obscurantism and superstition, and opposed any action likely to undermine the national character of the state or to promote Pan-Islamism.<sup>52</sup> Yet the military did not view secularism and the entire issue of Islam as the main problem of Turkish modernization as did some old-time secularists. Religion was considered a matter of secondary importance because, as some officers told me, aside from some sporadic activity, there was no large-scale attempt to revive traditional Islam. Some older officers regarded religion, when separated from politics, as an essential element in the life of an

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-9, *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> Tahir Kemal, the socialist writer, has adopted this theory as the basis of many of his novels. See his article, "Anadolu Türkçülüğü Açısından Atatürkçülük" [Kemalism From the Viewpoint of Anatolian Turkism], *Yön*, Nov. 7, 1962, p. 17. See also Cahit Tanyol, "İki Kadro" [Two Cadres], *Cumhuriyet*, Apr. 19, 1963.

<sup>50</sup> Republicanism, nationalism, secularism, statism, and reformism were the other principles incorporated in 1937 into the Constitution. Article 2 of the Constitution of 1961 defined the state as being national, secular, democratic, and social.

<sup>51</sup> One officer stated: "I have had occasion to visit the poor villages of Çankırı. Many of these people had never seen footwear. I visited the villages of Antep one by one. In Karaköse I stayed with people who were living underground like moles." *Cumhuriyet*, July 26, 1960. See similar statements in *Cumhuriyet*, July 25, Aug. 1, 13, 1960. For the background of these social views, see my article, "The Turkish Elections of 1957," *Western Political Quarterly*, XIV (1961), 436-59.

<sup>52</sup> Alparslan Türkeş, echoing Ziya Gökalp, declared that "in the Turkish mosque the Koran is read in Turkish, not Arabic." *Cumhuriyet*, July 17, 1960. Another officer suggested that courses in modern sciences be introduced for the clergy, as in fact they later were, and that modernist propaganda should be carried out in the mosque itself to educate the "man of religion to work in laboratories like the priests in the West." *Cumhuriyet*, July 24, 1960; *Milliyet*, Mar. 26, 1963.



individual, a basic necessity for the "religious nature of the Anatolian peasant."<sup>53</sup> Immediate practical considerations might have motivated this attitude. Young conscripts from the villages, brought up in a traditional understanding of authority, considered military service a sort of religious duty. Their discipline and loyalty derived considerable strength from this belief rather than from strictly modern nationalist indoctrination as might have been the case with the intelligentsia.<sup>54</sup> In one instance it was reported that several cadets in the War College were *Nurcus*, that is, followers of the banned fundamentalist Islamic sect of *Said-i Nursi*. Special courses on Kemalism were proposed not only to prevent the spread of such influences in the War College, but also to infiltrate this key institution with revolutionary officers.<sup>55</sup>

The attitude of the officers toward religion was also affected by historical considerations. Many were aware that the glories of the military in the Ottoman Empire were intimately connected with Islam and that much of the army's spirit, shaped in the light of this faith, survived well into the Republic. Fevzi Çakmak, the pious, conservative marshal who was chief of staff until 1944, certainly did his best to preserve the army's ancient traditions and spirit. Falih Rifkî Atay, a leading associate of Atatürk and an extreme secularist, described the marshal as "an Ottoman soldier who loved his country and was ready to die for it any time. . . . From the viewpoint of his ideas and convictions he was a conservative attached to the Sultan and Caliph. . . . He did not favor any of the reforms. Until he retired from his position of chief of staff, he used the old [Arabic] script." In referring to the marshal's friendship with the head of the religious affairs bureau, Atay continued, "One was the head of the mosque . . . the other the head of the army," and he concluded, "The regime kept Fevzi Çakmak at the head of the army much longer than necessary. The progressive officers and generals were always complaining that the army was very retarded because of its attachment to old ideas."<sup>56</sup>

The background of the revolutionary officers analyzed in the preceding pages, while useful in explaining the political attitudes of the military, would not suffice to ignite a revolution without a special political stimulus. Actually, had it not been for the extremely favorable atmosphere prepared by the government itself

<sup>53</sup> Sitkî Ulay, quoted in *Cumhuriyet*, July 21, 1960. See also F. W. Fernau, "Le néo-kémalisme du comité d'Union nationale," *Orient*, XVI (1960), 51-68.

<sup>54</sup> I was informed that there had been discussion among some military men after 1960 about offering religious courses to the new recruits along with courses in fundamental education. Some older officers even insisted that the recruits, when conscripted, take a religious oath along with the one legally prescribed. These suggestions were not accepted. Religious attitudes appeared in other declarations. Ali İhsan Kalmaz, a cadet who was killed during the Revolution, wrote in his diary a few hours before his death: "If fate is favorable tomorrow, May 27, 1960, the sacred Friday prayer shall be offered with peace in hearts and faith in souls." *Milliyet*, July 13, 1962.

<sup>55</sup> The *Nurcu* affiliation was denied at first, but the commander of the War College later acknowledged it. *Milliyet*, June 27, July 2, 1962; *Öncü*, Mar. 15, 1962.

<sup>56</sup> Falih Rifkî Atay, *Çankaya* (Istanbul [n.d.]), I, 105-10, *passim*. For the marshal's political career, see my *Turkey's Politics*, 169-70, 283-85.

in 1959-60, the coup probably would not have taken place at all. Even if it had, its chances of success would have been very limited.

The efforts of the Democrats to curtail freedom of the press and assembly in 1959-60, coupled with an oppressive martial law and an inquiry committee established to investigate the opposition, turned urban public opinion against this party. The *Vatan Cephesi* (Fatherland Front), established by the Democrats supposedly to counteract the coalition of the opposition, also aimed at "protecting democracy" as the Democratic Party interpreted it. One branch leader of the *Vatan Cephesi* told me, amid vows of respect for the army, that his group's main purpose was to prevent the Republicans and their leader İsmet İnönü from using the army to advance their own power.

The Democrats' own attempts to use the army in order to prevent İnönü from entering some towns and addressing the meetings sponsored by the Republican party backfired. Officers and soldiers put down their weapons and warmly acclaimed the old soldier İnönü, who had retained the loyalty and affection of much of the army. Finally the brutal handling by the police of university students in April 1960, and the army's reluctance to fire on or arrest the demonstrators, further undermined the government's authority. An informal coalition of *zinde kuvvetler* (active forces), such as the army, the intelligentsia, and the press had emerged.

The coup itself was carried out in three hours in Istanbul and Ankara on May 27, 1960. The armed forces in the rest of the country soon acceded to this fait accompli, although some generals, such as Ragıp Gümüşpala, the commander of the third army in the east, gave their blessing after some hesitation.

The Committee of National Unity, headed by General Cemal Gürsel, was formed about two weeks after the Revolution and comprised thirty-eight officers, including the key members of the secret revolutionary association. Colonels Talat Aydemir and Dündar Seyhan, assigned to duties abroad in 1960, were not included in the CNU. Several other officers who had either secondary roles or no part whatsoever in the secret organization were added in order to represent all the branches of the armed forces.<sup>57</sup> But the representation remained uneven, since the army held thirty-two seats, the air force three, the navy two, and the Gendarme, or the military units charged with police functions, only one.

The CNU attempted to identify itself from the beginning with all the armed forces but did not quite succeed. The *Silahlı Kuvvetler Birliği* (Union of Armed Forces), although not formally acknowledged, was probably more instrumental than the CNU in shaping Turkey's political fate. Established originally by lower ranking officers in order to express the army's viewpoint, it grew in size and eventually included the highest ranking officers. The generals, including the chief of staff, thus acquired control of this Union and brought it into the open,

<sup>57</sup> See the views of Talat Aydemir and Osman Deniz in Cankaya İsen, *Geliyorum, Diyen İhtilal* [The Arriving Revolution] (Istanbul, 1964), 208, 265-67, 282-89.

but also prevented it from carrying out its political purposes, notably the annulment of the elections of 1961. The Union wanted to unite all the armed forces and restore professional discipline, to prevent the CNU from using the military for its own purposes, to "direct it on the right path," and to oppose those politicians seeking to involve the army in their games. This last point, revealed during the trial of Aydemir, was a criticism of the Republican party. The junior officers believed that İnönü had persuaded the generals to back his own party. Others thought that the Republicans indoctrinated the army with their own party ideology and used it against the Justice party, which was established in 1961 with the support of former Democrats. In any case, the generals' control of the Union ended all hope for a new military revolution and turned it into a pressure group that worked incessantly to better the economic status of the officers.

The policy of the military after the take-over was conditioned by its own traditional and professional background and by its monolithic, elite conception of society and government. But these views were gradually amended according to the needs of a society divided and subdivided into interest groups whose perspectives on life and authority were quite individualized. The first military announcement stated that the Revolution was not "directed against any special group" but against a mentality and the party struggle that had undermined democracy and national unity. Subsequent developments, however, clearly indicated that the Revolution was in fact directed at certain special groups and particularly against those who benefitted economically and socially from association with the Democrats. Shortly after the Revolution the military arrested large numbers of leading Democrats, including all the deputies, partly to thwart reactionary attempts and partly at the instigation of some revenge-seeking Republicans. But the arrest of about 240 landlords in Eastern Anatolia, their internment at Sivas, and the establishment of inquiry committees to investigate the mode in which the *nouveaux riches* had accumulated their fortunes thoroughly undermined the idea that the Revolution had no social motives. Most of these measures were later rescinded, after the army's social resentment somewhat exhausted itself and was replaced by the more enduring idea of nationalism. The landlords were released, except for fifty-five men of Kurdish origin who were settled elsewhere in the country, even though few of them, according to some reports, owned any sizable amount of land.

General Gürsel, meanwhile, declared at a news conference that the country needed a new social outlook and that socialism should not be viewed as totally harmful. The heavy taxation imposed on agriculture and real estate and the establishment of a state planning organization in 1960 were born of these social considerations. Taxes were later decreased because the levies appeared too high. The state planning organization, after some unsuccessful attempts to acquire supreme executive powers, was reduced to the role of economic adviser to the

government.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, the efforts made to enact a land reform law produced no immediate results. The trade unions were recognized as having a certain freedom of organization and were liberated from police supervision, but were not included in any major policy-making decisions. There were, for example, only six representatives from trade unions in the 270-member constituent assembly.<sup>59</sup> Actually, many of these social measures were proposed by small groups of civilian intellectuals, some of whom had volunteered to "guide" the military in carrying out the reforms. Not having long-range plans, the military used whatever advice the intellectuals could give, but did not associate them directly with power.

Motivated by professional considerations, the CNU took a number of other steps that created disunity within the military. The congestion of generals at the top, mostly officers who had rendered service in the War of Liberation, delayed the promotion of lower ranks. Consequently 235 generals and seven thousand lower ranking officers were retired in order to "rejuvenate the army." This internal army reform had a deep political effect for it made available to political parties a large number of former officers.<sup>60</sup> The retired officers eventually established the *Emekli İnkılap Subayları* or EMİNSU (Retired Revolutionary Officers), an organization that became one of the most powerful pressure groups. Even though retired, many officers preserved some influence in the army through loyal friends and relatives and were often instrumental in converting these friends and relatives to the civilian point of view they had come to espouse. The retired officers received high pensions (seventy-five per cent of their salary) and a bonus equivalent to two years' salary, while the active officers were given generous housing credits and salary raises, almost twice as much as their equals in the civil service, plus an orderly or 200 TL a month. This measure was later amended. The sympathizers of the banned Democratic party were quick to contrast the interest of the military in raising its living standards with the accusation of materialism leveled at the ousted government.

In order to soothe their anger and to provide the state with personnel "representing the moral and idealistic virtues of Turkish society," the CNU placed many of the retired officers in government positions, including the security organizations. The appointments were in fact part of a broader scheme

<sup>58</sup> Originally, the state planning organization was under the direction of a small group of intellectuals who had been catapulted to this position by the Revolution. They tried to establish the supremacy of the organization over the legislature and, together with it, to consolidate their own position. Unsuccessful in their attempt, they eventually established a socialist club. The state planning organization finally acquired some popular support after its social and economic goals were given priority over its political claims.

<sup>59</sup> On some general aspects of the constitution, see İsmet Giritli, "Some Aspects of the New Turkish Constitution," *Middle East Journal*, XVI (1962), 1-17.

<sup>60</sup> Among the top officers who became politicians one may mention Colonel Adil Türkoğlu, who became a senator. He supposedly had arrested Faruk Güventürk, one of the secret organization leaders, in connection with information conveyed to the government in 1957. Yusuf Demirdağ, elected senator from Samsun, had supposedly tried to prevent the cadets' demonstration prior to the Revolution in 1960. General Ragıp Gümüşpala, who was made chief of staff after the Revolution and then retired, became the chairman of the Justice party.

of some of the officers in the junta to assume absolute power by placing reliable individuals in key government positions. "The salvation of Turkey," stated the CNU in explaining this measure,

and the onward surge of the Turkish state depends upon liberating the state administration and public institutions from partisan, immoral, lazy hands. We have decided to strengthen these institutions [by appointing] retired generals and officers who have spent a lifetime in honor and dignity. A new spirit, a new credo, will come into the state organizations and thus the purposes of the May 27 action will shortly be materialized. This measure shall never be [directed] against other professions. . . . The Turkish nation needs the services of the retired generals and officers. . . . The reform in administration is the desire of the nation and the absolute necessity of our Revolution. The future of the state can be assured only by a good administration. A good administration can be established [only] by qualified, moral, and idealistic personnel.<sup>61</sup>

The military government also established the *Türk Kültür Dernekleri* (Turkish Cultural Associations) in 1960, ostensibly with the purpose of replacing the people's houses closed by the Democrats in 1951, but actually for eventual use as the nucleus for a political party.<sup>62</sup> The *Derneks* abandoned the populist and democratic features of the houses and emphasized nationalism and the supremacy of the state in order to unite the nation around a common culture and ideal. Similarly, the plans to revive the village institutes, which had been created in the early forties for the purpose of eradicating illiteracy in villages but transformed into teacher training schools by the Democrats, were rejected. Instead, the cadet reserve officers spent their term of active duty as teachers in villages.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, a *Ülkü ve Kültür Birliği* (Union of Culture and Ideal) was proposed to replace the ministry of education. It was to be an autonomous body that would instill a new sense of purpose and unity in Turks living at home and abroad.<sup>64</sup>

The military distrusted the political parties from the very start. Soon after the Revolution, political activity was prohibited, and later the Democratic party was banned by court decision. The group headed by Türkeş and backed by civilian supporters attacked the Republican party as being as responsible as the ousted Democrats for bringing Turkey to the threshold of political disaster, although the Republicans had fought to preserve democracy. All the *ocağs* and *bucakşs* of the political parties, including those belonging to the Republican party, were abolished with the justification that they had become centers of friction and conflict among the rural population, a view enthusiastically shared by the intel-

<sup>61</sup> *Ulus*, Aug. 12, 1960. In fact, by November 1960, 2,200 officers had been placed in a variety of jobs, chiefly in security and civil defense. After 1961 there was objection to the fact that relieved military men occupied jobs usually reserved to civilian bureaucrats. For the job classification, see *Ulus*, Nov. 27, 1960; *Milliyet*, Mar. 23, 1963.

<sup>62</sup> The houses resumed their old name in 1963. See my "The People's Houses in Turkey," *Middle East Journal*, XVII (1963), 55-67.

<sup>63</sup> The military government's attempt to eradicate illiteracy, though motivated by good intentions, produced limited results, for the "teachers" lacked professional training, school buildings, and teaching materials. Nevertheless, the project helped urban intellectuals to become acquainted with rural conditions.

<sup>64</sup> It was reported that the late Mümtaz Turhan, a professor of psychology and a champion of an elitist system of education, was considered for the ministry of education.

ligentsia.<sup>65</sup> İnönü and several other politicians insisted that the party precincts had performed outstanding educational functions and that their constructive role outweighed their defects.<sup>66</sup> But these arguments could not convince the military or the intelligentsia; both, for their own satisfaction, had to cling to the idea that the commoner was unable to govern himself and needed the permanent guidance of the “enlightened.” The party precincts have not yet been re-established and all party decisions were as of 1970 still made by central and provincial organizations dominated in towns and cities exclusively by professionals. Inadvertently, the military helped to consolidate the political power of the new middle class.

A group in the CNU backed by the upper echelons of the army proposed to hold elections as soon as feasible in the belief that the Republican party, favored by the military, would win. The civilian rule envisaged at this stage was supposed to preserve all measures enacted by the military and to establish a secular and social-minded regime based on the rule of a “middle class.” This concept of a “middle class” was the same idea that had prevailed in the thirties, namely, the establishment of a regime dominated by the bureaucracy and intelligentsia at the top and sustained economically by the entrepreneurs and business groups at the bottom. This structure, civilian at the base and military at the top, was to adopt statism as a philosophy and to achieve progress along with internal and external economic independence. A similar scheme adopted in the early days of the Republic had failed supposedly because the guiding bureaucratic middle class was destroyed by the rising “statist capitalists” and further weakened in the 1950’s by the new entrepreneurial class and the landlords friendly to the West and its capitalist system.<sup>67</sup> A group in the Republican party accepted this view and it has now become, after further embellishment by additional slogans borrowed from the socialist vocabulary, the party’s basic social philosophy.

The major question facing the military in 1960 concerned the group that would both carry out the scheme of social reorganization and respect the measures enacted by the junta. A small group in the junta, composed of nationalists and socialists, although in disagreement over philosophy, were united in supporting the extension of a strong military role in the form of a new political organization. Another larger group, which trusted the Republican party and its philosophy and was sure that it would win the forthcoming elections, opposed continued military rule. Inevitably the officers in the CNU divided into two groups, one advocating the return to a civilian regime, the other insisting on remaining in power, despite a public oath to hold elections as soon as feasible. Each group became convinced that it would not persuade the other. Consequently General

<sup>65</sup> See Law #8 of July 4, 1960.

<sup>66</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, July 8, 9, 1960; *Sır*, Oct. 1, 1960.

<sup>67</sup> *Cumhuriyet*, July 23, 1960; *Söz*, Aug. 11, 1960; Tekin Alp, *Kemalizm* (Istanbul, 1936), 260 ff.; *Forum*, Nov. 1, 1960, p. 13.



Cemal Gürsel—supported by other generals and officers in the junta willing to surrender power, on their own terms, to a civilian government—ousted “the fourteen,” that is, the advocates of strong rule, on November 13, 1960, and assigned them to jobs overseas. Actually the total number of supporters of continued military rule in the CNU was about twenty, or the majority of the thirty-eight-member junta. Subsequently, a constituent assembly was convened, a constitution was enacted and approved by referendum in July 1961, and elections were held in October 1961. But the elections produced totally unexpected results since they were influenced by forces ignored by the military. A group in the Republican party, aware of Turkey’s problems, tried to combine the ideas of social reform and democracy under the slogan “*hürriyet içinde kalkınma*” (development within freedom). The Justice party also began to adopt the idea of social reform through consensus, although leadership in this party was at the beginning in the hands of conservatives from the countryside. The officers, however, seemed to ignore the fact that the major parties of Turkey were undergoing a profound ideological transformation that oriented them toward a new interpretation of modernization and reformism. In the view of the military, economic reform and true democracy could be achieved only by imposition from the top, a procedure they described as a return to and reformulation of Kemalism. In short, this view seemed irreconcilable with the party democracy and the level of political socialization prevailing in Turkey.

The results of the election in 1961 seemed to support these assumptions. The Justice party won 77 seats in the senate, the New Turkey party 9, and the Republican party only 44; the remaining 55 seats were divided among other parties, the president’s 15 appointees, and the lifetime senators or the ex-members of the junta. In the assembly, where the real legislative power lies, the Justice party won 168 seats, the New Turkey party 29, and the Republican party 187 of a total of 450, the rest being distributed among the minor parties.<sup>68</sup> Thus the Republican party favored by the military was in the minority, while groups thought to be loyal or sympathetic to the ousted Democrats and antagonistic to the Revolution had a majority in both houses. Consequently, on October 21, 1961, a group of officers belonging to the Union and advised by some university professors reached agreement to intervene on behalf of the armed forces before the legislature met, in order to turn over the “revolution to the nation’s true and competent representatives,” to ban political parties, to dismiss the CNU, and to nullify the “elections.”<sup>69</sup> Another group of officers in Ankara approved the agreement. It must be noted that this agreement came immediately after free, honest elections were held under the guarantee of the military and its express declaration to accept the people’s verdict. The agreement was a flagrant violation of the

<sup>68</sup> *TBMM Albümü* [Album of the Turkish Grand National Assembly] (Ankara, 1964), 170, 190. The seats held by each party varied in the following years.

<sup>69</sup> İsen, *Geliyorum Diyen İhtilal*, 18–20. See also the memoirs of Metin Toker, İnönü’s son-in-law and trusted aid, which appeared in *Milliyet* during February 1969.

constitution committed in a most haphazard manner, but it was not implemented in large part because of the opposition of General Cevdet Sunay, chief of staff at the time. Sunay argued that a new military intervention would create turmoil, that anti-military reprisals would not be allowed, that the measures introduced after the Revolution would be safeguarded, that Cemal Gürsel would be brought to the presidency and İsmet İnönü to the premiership to head a coalition government. Consequently, a civilian government was formed under İnönü, himself a venerated soldier, and the CNU members became lifetime senators. Thus the military coup of October 21, 1961, attempted through hierarchic channels, had failed, but it did not subdue dissatisfaction among the young officers. Eventually these men began to form secret organizations only to be exposed by military intelligence, and their leaders retired before engaging in action.

The return to a civil government brought to the fore once more the conflicts created by the Revolution. The Justice party, and to a lesser extent the New Turkey party, supported basically by the members of the defunct Democratic party, soon began indirectly to denounce the Revolution, to demand amnesty for Democratic party leaders, and deviously to attack the senators who were ex-members of the CNU. It seemed that the social and political groups that had dominated Turkish politics prior to 1960 had regained the upper hand in the legislature, and gradually they began to undo what the military had tried to achieve during their brief stay in power. Some of the ex-members of the CNU openly attributed these attempts to their own failure to create an ideology, to organize a party, and to become identified with a social group. One socialist officer said retrospectively:

For the Revolution to become social and economic and achieve success it needed to destroy down to its foundation the previous political [and social] order. To change positively the social and economic order and bring the social forces to a new balance [was a necessity]. If the social and economic order of the past were to continue, then the political order would have survived, too. If the new social forces were not organized and if at least some structural changes were not achieved . . . the alternative would be a counter-revolution [by former Democrats].<sup>70</sup>

In reality, however, the situation in the society at large was different. The Revolution belonged to the government elite who ignored the views and reactions of the population, since it was taken for granted that the people would acquiesce in elitist decisions as had been the case in the past. True, there was no popular reaction to the overthrow of Adnan Menderes' government, since on the eve of the Revolution the Democrats' dictatorial policies had made them unpopular. But some popular reaction began to manifest itself toward the middle of 1961 in the form of a readiness to support any party professing opposition to an elitist regime, whatever its form. The peasantry began to think of itself,

<sup>70</sup> Öncü, Apr. 22, 1962. Memoirs of Müşerref Hekimoğlu, reproducing verbatim the letter of a revolutionary, possibly Orhan Erkanlı. See also my "Society, Economics, and Politics in Contemporary Turkey," *World Politics*, XVII (1964), 50-74.

now, as a distinct social group with special interests of its own and to act as though fully conscious of its power. The large number of negative votes (3,934,370), as against 6,348,191 positive votes cast in the constitutional referendum of July 9, 1961, clearly expressed the situation. This occurred several months before the trial in September of the Democratic party deputies and leaders was concluded. Menderes and his ministers Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Hasan Polatkan were hanged.

The opposition centered around the Justice party capitalized on the danger of dictatorship coming from the old ruling circles, particularly from the Republican party, and accused it of courting the military. The opposition leaders claimed that national sovereignty was embodied in the legislature and that the decisions of elected legislators should prevail. In fact some went so far as to say that the military was opposed to civilian supremacy in politics, thus losing the people's confidence and weakening traditional respect for the army. The issue was fully dramatized when the assembly refused to lift the legislative immunity of a deputy who had accused the military of being power-hungry and had urged the population to resist forcibly any take-over by the army.<sup>71</sup>

The reaction to these developments among some officers materialized in the abortive coup of Colonel Talat Aydemir on February 22, 1962. The attempt was put down quickly by the government, aided by the air force, but the plotters were pardoned despite some opposition in the legislature. Later a group of air force officers known as the "eleven" were retired before carrying out their planned coup.<sup>72</sup> Talat Aydemir meanwhile tried to unite all the revolutionary groups but failed because each group wanted to assume leadership for itself. The available data indicates that Aydemir, aside from some vague reformist schemes and nationalist ideas borrowed from Türkeş that he tried to formulate as Neo-Kemalism, seemed interested mainly in power. Aydemir's second attempt on May 21, 1963, failed again because the bulk of the army supported the government. Aydemir and his deputy were tried, sentenced to death, and executed. It is interesting to note that Aydemir established relations with at least four senators,

<sup>71</sup> The deputy was Reşat Özarda of the Justice party. During the legislative proceedings to deprive him of immunity, several officers, retired in 1960, testified in his favor, indicating thus a divergence of opinion among officers. Immediately after the vote, İnönü stated that the situation had become very dangerous. The politicians claimed that this was another "trick" of İnönü, but Talat Aydemir's putsch five days later proved him right. (See *Ulus*, May 15-23, 1963. The following quotations support my ideas about the dangerous civilian-military rift at that time. Recai İskenderoğlu, New Turkey deputy from Diyarbakır, wrote: "The temporary military rule has brought, by necessity, economic difficulties. These were exploited by certain political circles and created [antagonism] between the citizens and their uniformed sons and unnecessarily distorted ideas [concerning each other's intentions]." After accusing certain political circles of aggressive intentions, he continued, "That is why there is among the people the idea that some military circles have not withdrawn from politics." "Bugünkü siyasi ortamda Türk Politikacısı" [Turkish Politician in Today's Political Environment], *Cumhuriyet*, May 18, 1963; see also comments by D. H. Baki, elected from Afyon as an independent: "Son Krizis Nedenleri" [The Causes of Last Crisis], *Cumhuriyet*, May 20, 1963.

<sup>72</sup> The military groups contending for power in 1961-63 were the following: (a) the "fourteen" divided into two groups; one nationalist, headed by Alparslan Türkeş, and the other socialistic, headed by Orhan Kabibay; (b) the "Febrists," or the first group of Aydemir; and (c) the "eleven" previously mentioned. Many of the plotters were officers retired in 1960.

ex-members of the CNU, with several Republican party members in the legislature, and even with a few intellectuals.<sup>73</sup> Yet Aydemir's abortive coups did not suffice to convince the extremists in the Justice party that their indiscriminate attacks on the military would incite new coups and eventually bring the army back to power. They intensified the campaign for amnesty for the Democrats. Finally, Cevdet Sunay had to write a letter on November 12, 1964, to the president, the premier, the party leaders, and the chairman of the legislature. He mentioned the army's loyalty to the constitution and declared that a press campaign

has chosen the army as its target, and by its nature it is likely to hurt the commanders and the officers who in silence and dedication try to carry out the high duty of protecting the country. . . . Some party members are attempting to incite the innocent citizens against the government, the army, and their own adversaries, and aim especially at the commanding officers. They thus incite an armed revolution. Their declarations aim at destroying the harmony between the commanders and their subordinates, and create mischief for the country. . . .<sup>74</sup>

The letter had its effect. The Justice party convention, which met at the end of November 1964, ignored the extremists who sought to rehabilitate the ousted Democrats and elected as chairman, with a two-thirds majority, Süleyman Demirel, who represented the moderate wing in the party.

From the end of 1964 the military's relations with the Justice party improved considerably as the uproar caused by the Revolution subsided. The election of Cevdet Sunay to the presidency after Gürsel suffered a stroke and died in 1966 consolidated civilian rule and helped to establish "correct" relations between the military and the Justice party. A difficult phase had been concluded and parliamentary democracy received a new chance to prove itself capable of solving the social and economic problems of Turkey.

The military Revolution of 1960 in Turkey began as a reaction of the traditional power elite to the challenge of new social groups. It ended not by re-establishing the old order but with a new, modern constitutional regime based on a social and political balance between all major groups. It thus established, unwittingly perhaps, the legal and political bases of a participatory democratic society. Indeed, a new constitution, a two-house legislature, a constitutional court, and judicial immunity were accepted, and, formally at least, power was transferred to a civilian government. The Revolution was successfully contained within the framework of a national state and channeled to establish a pluralist social-political order in which all major social groups were to be represented.

The initial revolutionary association of the military in 1954-55 was a meas-

<sup>73</sup> The best account of Aydemir's coup is İsen, *Geliyorum Diyen İhtilal*. See also the communiqué of the Ankara martial law commander in *Anadolu Ajansı*, July 24, 1963; *Cumhuriyet*, July 5, 1963; Özbudun, *The Role of the Military*, 34-37.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in F. Hüsrev Tokin, *Türk Tarihinde Siyasi Partiler* [Political Parties in Turkish History] (Istanbul, 1965), 124-25.

ure of self-defense and a reaction caused by the deterioration of the army's social status; it expressed an implicit desire to reinstate the army in its traditionally powerful position in the government. The revolutionaries declared that the power was taken over by the *silahlı kuvvetler* (armed forces) on their own behalf instead of by an organization representing broader sections of the population. The seizure and exercise of power on behalf of armed forces was in fact the first incident in Turkish history when the army acquired power directly on its own behalf. Throughout the Ottoman Empire and the Republic the military has been behind the government; it has changed sultans and ministers but it has always preserved formal allegiance to the ruling authority. The military interventions of the past were legitimized in accordance with the Islamic-imperial traditions of government and authority, even though the actual reasons for intervention might have derived from practical considerations. Atatürk turned against the throne only after he was securely entrenched in power. Still he described the nation and the legislature as the sources of all authority and argued at great length to prove how the nation had replaced the throne in this role.

The military revolution of 1960 was a clear break with the past, despite the persisting influences of social and political traditions. This was evident in the attempt to legitimize the Revolution in the light of modern political and social ideas. Such a break with the past was unavoidable because the groups competing for power had new social and economic motives and a new political outlook. Social differentiation had created a new social identity and a new sense of economic interest.

The revolution also undermined the elite philosophy and brought into the open the ideological differences caused by changes of occupation and mentality among the intelligentsia. Two decades earlier the bulk of the intelligentsia depended on the government for employment. Now the majority had become independent professionals, or well-paid employees of private enterprises, and were identified in outlook and interest with their occupations. The intelligentsia was no longer an independent social class but had been divided and subdivided into professional groups that affiliated themselves with labor, business, the peasantry, and a variety of other occupational groups. Consequently, after the Revolution many intellectuals voiced the view of the groups to which they were attached rather than that of the state, as they had done in the past. But, theoretically, the intellectuals still regarded themselves as an independent group dedicated solely to progress and modernization, although even these concepts were reinterpreted according to professional and group affiliations. The military as a group became the object of public debate and painfully realized that its traditional high prestige did not grant it immunity to criticism or assure military men positions above others. The laws and measures providing economic benefits to the military indicated that the officers' concern with their own welfare was similar to that of ordinary citizens. The magic—in fact, the political charisma—of the old elite

groups was broken forever. A new sense of value and faith in men as rational beings capable of selecting their own political destiny by themselves had emerged. A revolutionary officer wrote:

Today, all institutions—the army, the university, the press—have lost much of the moral power they held prior to May 27 [1960]. Two years of unproductive revolutionary activities have tarnished these institutions in the people's eyes. [Discredited are the] intellectuals . . . who considered themselves an independent class apart from the people, entitled to social privileges because they had first priority to rule the nation. They had an absolute belief that if these privileges were not granted to them the society would never come into the [modern] age. It seemed as though the salvation of Turkey depended on the establishment of an intellectual oligarchy, . . . an idea forced upon society since Plato.<sup>75</sup>

The military revolution of May liberated the social groups from the hold of traditionalism. It destroyed, perhaps unwittingly, many of the ancient concepts of power and authority. It indicated that the traditional power elites could no longer maintain their political supremacy in a socially diversified national state without a change of philosophy and without identifying themselves with the cause of some social groups. It helped lay emphasis on economic activity as the means for material welfare and on social progress, balance, and stability.<sup>76</sup> The idea of political modernization was thus broadened. All this occurred, not through following a formal plan but largely as a result of mutual pressures and the interaction among social groups. The military yielded to pressure and demands arising from the social body. This is a definite credit to the army. Yet one must recognize the essential fact that the acceptance by the military of a civilian democratic order did not stem from its own convictions but from the very ability of the civilian sectors to assert their claim to political leadership. In this way, the age-long process for the establishment of a truly civilian society, which had begun under the Ottoman Empire, entered its last and decisive phase.

<sup>75</sup> *Öncü*, Apr. 22, 1960, and Apr. 20, 1962.

<sup>76</sup> The minister of finance, Şefik İnan, declared in 1962 that "economic matters had become the main and key problem of Turkey. . . . To view any other problem as paramount and impress it as such on the public mind would endanger the resolution of basic economic and financial problems." *Bayram*, Mar. 16, 1962.



\* \* \* *Review Article* \* \* \*

## Portugal's *Drang nach Osten*

C. R. BOXER

DER EINTRITT DER SÜDLICHEN HEMISPHERE IN DIE EUROPÄISCHE GESCHICHTE: DIE ERSCHLIESSUNG DES AFRIKAWEGES NACH ASIEN VOM ZEITALTER HEINRICHS DES SEEFAHRERS BIS ZU VASCO DA GAMA. By *Günther Hamann*. [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Number 260. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften, Number 6.] (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1968. Pp. 477, 24 plates. 396 Sch.)

D. JOÃO DE CASTRO, GOUVERNEUR ET VICE-ROI DES INDES ORIENTALES (1500-1548): CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DE LA DOMINATION PORTUGAISE EN ASIE ET À L'ÉTUDE DE L'ASTRONAUTIQUE, DE LA GÉOGRAPHIE ET DE L'HUMANISME AU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. In two volumes. By *J.-B. Aquarone*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université de Montpellier, Numbers 30 and 31.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. xxx, 324; 332-791.)

L'ÉCONOMIE DE L'EMPIRE PORTUGAIS AUX XV<sup>e</sup> ET XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES. By *Vitorino Magalhães-Godinho*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports—routes—trafics, Number 26.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1969. Pp. 857. 135 fr.)

Of the three works under notice, the third is by far the most interesting and the most valuable, but before discussing some of the problems posed by its perusal, it will be as well to get the other two out of the way.

Günther Hamann's *Der eintritt der südlichen Hemisphäre in die europäische Geschichte* could have been regarded as a useful work if it had been published forty or fifty years ago, but its actual value is severely diminished by the fact that the author is apparently unaware of most of the literature on this subject that has been published since the Second World War. The book is a painstaking examination of the Portuguese voyages of discovery in the South Atlantic and the opening of the sea route to India. It is based largely on a comparison and a collation of the various chroniclers (Zurara, Barros, and others) and such printed documentary sources as were available up to 1940. But the author seems to be surprisingly unfamiliar with more recent work in this field, extensive and important as much of it is. To list only a few of the most obvious omissions, he has not used either the *Monumenta Henricina*, edited by A. J. Dias Dinis in several volumes (Coimbra, 1960- ), or the two-volume *Descobrimentos Portugueses*, edited by J. M. da Silva Marques (Lisbon, 1944-49), which contain the best versions of many of the most relevant texts. Nor has he used the funda-

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mental articles of W. G. L. Randles published in *Studia* (No. 2 [1958], 103–64, and No. 5 [1960], 20–45) and elsewhere. He has ignored, save for one article, the important and essential works of Duarte Leite and V. Magalhães-Godinho. Equally inexcusable (and inexplicable) is the neglect of the relevant works on West Africa by E. W. Bovill and J. W. Blake, not to mention the vital contributions by F. A. Chamousky, editor, and M. Malkiel-Jirmounsky, translator, in *Tres Roteiros desconhecidos de Ahmad Ibn-Madjid, o piloto Arabe de Vasco da Gama* (Lisbon, 1960), and by R. Mauny, *Les Navigations médiévales sur les côtes sahariennes antérieures à la découverte portugaise* (Lisbon, 1960). Hamann does cite (p. 57 n) Léon Bourdon's definitive edition (1960) of Zurara's chronicle of Guinea, but he makes hardly any use of it in his text. He consistently misprints the date of the second edition of João de Barros' *Decadas* as 1728 for 1628; in any event, he should have used the first edition of 1552–63, since none of the later editions are textually reliable. The date of the capture of Elmina by the Dutch is given as 1642 instead of 1637, another of the numerous elementary errors that do not inspire confidence. A typical instance of his lack of awareness of recent work in this field is his use of outdated works published in 1839 and 1892 as authorities on the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar. Far better books have been published in recent years by Cardinal Eugène Tisserant, Bishop L. W. Brown, and Francis Rogers, whose *The Quest for Eastern Christians* (Minneapolis, 1962) should certainly have been consulted.

Hamann's book is chiefly concerned with the minutiae of the discovery of the West African coast. It goes into great detail on the voyages of Diogo Cão and Bartolomeu Dias and on the origins of various place names, but it adds nothing significant to what has already been discussed and analyzed *ad nauseam* by previous commentators. It may have some use for the identification and collation of place names as given in the earliest maps and charts, but even in this respect, the information could have been arranged and classified in a clearer way, as Albert Kammerer did for the place names on the China Coast in his *La découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Leiden, 1944). The book can safely be dismissed as "old hat." Those interested in this subject will do better to await the publication of Peter Russell's forthcoming work on the Portuguese (and other) voyages of discovery in the Atlantic and along the West African coast in the fifteenth century. This is based not only on the published works consulted by Günther Hamann and on more recent ones that he ignores, but on research in the relevant Portuguese and Spanish archives.

Aquarone's *Dom João de Castro* can be given even shorter shrift. Like Hamann's work, it reads as if it had been written forty or fifty years ago—in fact, in some ways it is more like a medieval chronicle than a twentieth-century work. The author is profoundly ignorant of the Asian background, as evidenced by his monumental *gaffe* on page 554, note 57, where he confuses the warrior Rajputs with the pacifist Banyan traders, terming in the latter "*excellents guerriers*."

Symptomatic of his approach to his subject is the wording of his subtitle, *Contribution à l'histoire de la domination portugaise en Asie*. Portuguese domination, such as it was, was confined to some maritime trade routes in the Indian Ocean and to various coastal strips. Only in lowland Ceylon and in the Zambesi river valley did the Portuguese dominate any territory in depth. As did the sixteenth-century chroniclers on whom he so heavily and conscientiously relies, Aquarone goes into great and often boring detail in narrating petty skirmishes as well as major campaigns. He is either unable or unwilling to distinguish between what is relatively important and what is utterly trivial. While he has read widely and deeply in the contemporary Portuguese chronicles, he has not related them to their Asian background nor used them with the critical sense and balanced judgment displayed by Donald Lach in his *Asia in the Making of Europe. The Century of Discovery* (Chicago, 1965).

Aquarone lists a great array of printed works in his bibliography, but many of them are of only marginal value. He has not used the mass of unpublished records in the Torre do Tombo archive at Lisbon that survive from the period of Castro's governorship. For all its length and detail, therefore, this work is not the last word on Dom João de Castro. Aquarone promises us a third volume dealing with the scientific and humanistic activities of his hero. This may well prove to be more valuable than the other two, since Castro was one of the most outstanding navigators of his age, as well as an interesting specimen of "Renaissance man." Meanwhile, a better idea of the man and his motives can be gained from a perusal of the letters edited by Elaine Sanceau sixteen years ago, *Cartas de D. João de Castro* (Lisbon, 1954).

V. Magalhães-Godinho's massive work affords a striking and refreshing contrast to the old-fashioned if erudite works of Hamann and Aquarone. A leading member of the school of the *Annales*, the author has produced a book worthy of his acknowledged masters, Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel. The late Jaime Cortesão observed many years ago that the epic side of Portugal's irruption into Asian seas and her century-long thalassocracy in the Indian Ocean (or in parts of it) has always exercised an irresistible fascination for Portuguese historians. They have concentrated on such colorful figures as Afonso d'Albuquerque, Dom João de Castro, and Luís de Camões, to the neglect of more mundane geopolitical and economic factors. Here, at last, the balance is redressed, in full measure and running over. Magalhães-Godinho has never been in Asia, but (unlike Aquarone) he has taken great pains to understand the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Asian milieu by careful study of the best available sources in several languages. He is equally well read in the economic history of Western Europe, North Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and the Iberian settlements in the New World. The result is that he has been able to depict the intricately varied economy of the Portuguese seaborne empire from Morocco and Brazil to the Moluccas and Japan with a breadth and depth that have never

been achieved, or even attempted, before. In particular, his discerning use of numismatic source material has enabled him to unravel and explain the highly complicated monetary systems of Portuguese Asia, despite the almost total loss of all the records of the relevant mints.

There is still much that is uncertain about the origins and the motives of Portuguese expansion along the Moroccan Atlantic coast, the West African littoral, and in the South Atlantic, which is usually regarded as beginning with the capture of Ceuta in 1415. Magalhães-Godinho argues strongly, if not always convincingly, for the predominance of economic motives. He does not hesitate to demolish the theories advanced by Joaquim Bensaude and Jaime Cortesão, which attribute to the Infante Dom Henrique and his successors the strategic plan of outflanking Islam through reaching India by sea and thus relieving Europe of Turkish and Moorish pressure. He points out that the year of the conquest of Ceuta coincided with a distinct ebb in the Turkish danger, for the Ottomans had not yet recovered from Sultan Bajazet I's crushing defeat by the Mongols at Ankara in 1402—a reverse that had more than offset the same sultan's spectacular victory over the Christians at Nicopolis in 1396. In 1416, the Italians destroyed a Turkish fleet off Gallipoli; in any event, the Turkish menace had to be fought in the Balkans and in the eastern Mediterranean. There was nothing that the Portuguese, perched on the edge of the Atlantic Ocean, could do about it.

Nor was Morocco, torn by endemic civil strife, any great danger to the kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula, despite the existence of the Moorish kingdom of Granada on Spanish soil. There was never any alliance between the Ottoman and the Mameluke Empires and the warring factions in Morocco, nor any plan for a combined Islamic onslaught on Christendom. Admittedly, the Infante Dom Henrique, and still more King John II of Portugal, had the declared intention of finding the kingdom of Prester John. This semi-legendary potentate was often envisaged as a potential ally against the Muslim powers of North Africa, of whom the Mamelukes were the most important through their control of Egypt and Syria. The Portuguese, like all other Europeans, were very vague as to the extent and location of Prester John's kingdom. But they did believe that it was primarily an African one, with its core somewhere beyond the Nile (of which they erroneously thought that first the Senegal and then the Niger were tributaries).

The dawn of the sixteenth century saw the Portuguese embarked on their spectacular adventure in the seas and along the coasts of monsoon Asia. Within a decade they had occupied two of their most important bases, Goa and Malacca; the third, Ormuz, was added in 1515. By this year they had reached both South China and the Moluccas, having penetrated into the Red Sea as early as 1501. The rapidity with which they "discovered" so much of the Indian Ocean region, the islands of Indonesia, and the shores of the South China Sea forms a

striking contrast to the relative slowness with which the Portuguese and Spaniards between them enlarged European knowledge of the Atlantic world. A century elapsed between the discovery of Madeira in 1419 and Magellan's navigation of the strait that bears his name. The contrast is easily explained when we reflect that in the Atlantic everything had to be done from scratch, since the voyages of the Norsemen to Greenland and North America were either not known or else forgotten in the Iberian peninsula. Once the Portuguese reached the Swahili ports of East Africa, however, they could—and did—take as their guides in further voyages the Arab, Gujarati, Malay, Javanese, and Chinese pilots whom they successively encountered.

Beginning with their occupation of the Canaries, Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands, the Portuguese and Spaniards went on to construct a new colonial world in America during the sixteenth century. By contrast, east of the Cape of Good Hope the Portuguese could only insert (or impose) themselves into the existing patterns of trade and navigation along the centuries-old routes dictated by the monsoons. The only two major novelties introduced by the Iberians in Asian seas were the opening of the Cape route between Lisbon and Goa, the so-called *carreira da Índia*, and, some sixty-five years later, the equally long and perilous *Carrera de Filipinas*, the round voyage of the Spanish galleons between Acapulco and Manila.

Not the least merit of Magalhães-Godinho's book is the way in which he shows us the connections between the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean (in its largest sense), and the Pacific worlds. His discussion of the medieval Saharan trade routes and of the European monetary and economic crises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may not contain much that is new for specialists in those fields who are familiar with the works of Fernand Braudel, R. S. Lopez, H. W. Hazard, and others, though even specialists are likely to be unfamiliar with some of the Portuguese sources he has utilized. Similarly, much of what Magalhães-Godinho says about the Indonesian spice trade can be found in the excellent study by M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague, 1962), which does not figure in his otherwise very full and useful bibliography. But he has new and important material from the Portuguese archives—defective as these are in many respects due to the catastrophe of the Lisbon earthquake in 1755 and inadequate cataloguing and conservation since then—about such items as the gold exports from Guinea (Mina, Elmina) to Lisbon in 1494–1561; the sums remitted from Lisbon to pay (in part) for the purchase of pepper on the Malabar coast; the relative importance of the various spices (pepper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, and malagueta), both in West Africa and in Asia. He gives what is undoubtedly the best analysis to date of the shifting relationship among the three arteries of the sixteenth-century spice trade with Europe: the Cape route, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. He takes due note of

the importance of the rise of Atjeh and the development of its trade with the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Contrary to what is often assumed, no vast quantities of gold and silver specie were sent from Lisbon to Goa to buy spices for homeward-bound Indiamen in the first half of the sixteenth century. Magalhães-Godinho shows that copper—procured from German merchant-bankers—was the most important metal exported in the carracks. In addition, considerable quantities of coral, vermilion, quicksilver, mercury, lead, tin, and cloth were taken to the East. Gold from East Central Africa (the so-called “Empire of Monomotopa”), Sumatra, and China also helped to finance the purchase of pepper in India, as Indian textiles helped pay for the spices of Indonesia. This meant that the Portuguese Crown did not have to remit such large sums of gold and silver from Lisbon for the purchase of spices in India as the Venetians were compelled to do when buying them at the Mameluke and Turkish ports of the Levant. In 1551, for example, the India House at Lisbon authorized the sum of 100,000 *cruzados* for the purchase of pepper and spices at Goa and Cochin. Only 40,000 *cruzados* of this amount were dispatched in ready money by the fleet. Another 40,000 *cruzados* were drawn in bills of exchange on the Crown Factor at Cochin, and the remaining 20,000 *cruzados* were raised at Goa by drafts made payable on the India House at Lisbon.

The exploitation of the silver mines of Mexico and Peru in the mid-sixteenth century and the resultant price revolution had dramatic and far-reaching repercussions on Portuguese trade with Asia. As early as 1558 the Portuguese Crown formally admitted that Spanish and (still more) Spanish-American *reales*, chiefly in the form of *pesos de a ocho reales* (*anglice*, rials-of-eight) were by far the most common currency in Portugal and in all its far-flung overseas possessions—and so they remained until well into the eighteenth century. This fact is, of course, well known; but Magalhães-Godinho gives interesting details about the ways in which the Portuguese secured this Spanish-American silver, whether legitimately or by contraband trade, and the ways in which so much of it gravitated to Mughal India and (above all) to Ming China. Between 1580 and 1630, in striking contrast to the conditions prevailing in the first half of the sixteenth century, exports of copper from Lisbon to Goa shrank to nothing. Portuguese India now secured its copper from Japan, and in 1635 Lisbon was urging Goa to re-export as much of this copper to Portugal as possible, mainly for the purpose of casting cannon.

Naturally, Magalhães-Godinho's book does not pretend to be the last word on many of the topics it treats, particularly since, as the author reminds us, the resources of the Portuguese archives are still inadequately explored. A number of problems may indeed defy neatly packaged solutions, since the full range of the necessary material is no longer extant. For instance, the extent to which the interport trade of Asia operated by the *casados* or married settlers (to say nothing



of the contraband trade engaged in by ninety per cent of the governors and high officials) interfered with the working of the Crown's monopolies, must always remain a matter of speculation, save for some isolated instances. We have very little information, and we are unlikely to obtain much more, about the trading partnerships between Portuguese and Asian merchants, whether Indian, Indonesian, Chinese, or Japanese. We do not know exactly how they functioned, or the relative shares of profits (or losses) at different times and places. Even such a vital and relatively long-lived concern as the Portuguese share of the cinnamon trade of Ceylon is very poorly documented, and of the immensely rich entrepôt trade of Ormuz pitifully few figures and no reliable run of statistics have survived. Magalhães-Godinho has some interesting remarks on the trade of the secular clergy and the religious orders; here we may hope for more evidence at some future date, since many of their archives were not involved in the catastrophe of 1755. Professor Dauril Alden is already tapping the rich resources of the Jesuit records on their economic activities in Brazil. Some indication of this research was revealed in the publication by the Brazilian Institute of Sugar and Alcohol of the accounts of one of the principal sugar mills, that of Sergipe do Conde, for the years 1622-53.

On the other hand, it is unlikely that we will ever learn very much about the Dominican missionary friars' alluvial gold-gathering in Zambesia and Timor. We will probably have to be content with occasional (and not always accurate) snide remarks about the scope and extent of the undertaking by passing travelers or by jealous critics. It is obvious that the Portuguese never had anything like enough ships and sailors of their own to cope with the maritime trade of a sea-borne empire that at its widest extent can be regarded as having extended from the fishing banks of Newfoundland to the coast of Kyūshū. We may hope, however, that future researchers will be able to tell us more about the ways in which the Portuguese tried to atone for these deficiencies by such means as employing Asian ships, crews, and pilots between East Africa and Japan; by using Negro slaves as sailors on their homeward-bound Indiamen; and by freighting Hansa, Dutch, French, Genoese, and English merchant shipping in some branches of their Atlantic trade. The role of Portuguese shipping and sailors in the so-called "Sixty Years' Captivity" of 1580-1640 is another subject that could do with more detailed investigation; so could the part played by the Azores in the contraband trade of homeward-bound shipping from the West Indies, Portuguese India, and Brazil.

Magalhães-Godinho points out that, for all her economic difficulties and the disastrous wars in which she was engaged for most of the seventeenth century, Portugal's population increased substantially during this period, whereas Spain's declined catastrophically from about eight to about six million. Similarly, Portugal, although so closely linked economically to Spain by her use of silver *reales* even after the revolution of 1640, managed to avoid the disastrous *vellón* infla-

tion that so bedevilled the Spanish economy before the monetary reforms of 1680–86. Many other fields of future research are suggested by a perusal of this fascinating and well-documented work, among them the dichotomy between the anti-commercial attitudes inherent in the seigneurial and ecclesiastical ideologies that dominated the ruling classes in Portugal and the economic facts of life that compelled them to become (like their monarch, “the grocer-king”) monopolists and engrossers overseas, or else contraband traders and smugglers.

The book is excellently printed and produced, containing some admirable schematic sketch-maps; but two words of warning are in order. There is no index, a serious lack in a work of this kind, which will obviously serve mainly for reference. Though the title-page is dated 1969, the preface is dated June 1958, and it is clear that the text has received no major revision or addition since then. This last remark does not apply to the Portuguese edition, which, in a larger and more lavishly illustrated format, is now appearing at Lisbon in occasional fascicles under the title of *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial* and which brings this magisterial survey down to the year 1640. Readers who know Portuguese will do better to opt for this later edition, despite the higher price, but the French version is likely to be the one that is more widely read and quoted.

I may also add that those who can read Portuguese but feel that they have neither the time nor the patience to tackle Magalhães-Godinho's massive works will find the essentials of his thinking and his arguments deployed in a number of seminal essays in the three-volume *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, edited by Joel Serrão (Lisbon, 1963–68; a final volume is in press). These essays have recently been reprinted, together with some others on problems of methodology, in a handy format in two quarto volumes entitled *Ensaíos* (Lisbon, 1968). Finally, I venture to affirm that persons who presume to write about the history of Portugal and of Portuguese expansion and who ignore the works of what may be termed the post-1940 generation of historians, represented by, among others, Dona Virginia Rau, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, L. Borges de Macedo, and V. Magalhães-Godinho, are in mortal danger of misleading both themselves and their readers, as instanced by John Dos Passos' *The Portugal Story. Three Centuries of Exploration and Discovery* (New York, 1969).

## Reviews of Books

### General

ATLANTIC LEGACY: ESSAYS IN AMERICAN-EUROPEAN CULTURAL HISTORY. By *Robert O. Mead*. (New York: New York University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 348. \$8.95.)

THE American scholar Robert Mead made many friends in Salzburg and Paris and other corners of Europe. He was lively and cosmopolitan and exceptionally well informed on cultural matters relating to both sides of the North Atlantic. His death in 1969, at the early age of forty-three, brought a promising career to a sudden and premature close. It would be good if one could report that this posthumous volume were a fitting memorial to Robert Mead's urbane scholarship. Alas, it does not do him justice. The subject itself—a comparative, historical estimate of social and cultural developments in Western Europe and the United States—is, of course, enormous, complicated, and difficult to define. The author relies on the central assumption that these two civilizations need one another and have not always understood one another. Few would dissent from that proposition. But it is too vague to form a framework for an argument. Are they distinct civilizations? Is Europe itself a single civilization or (as Mead seems to say near the end of the book) a triple Anglo-Franco-Germanic culture? Is the idea of an "Atlantic Community" historically sound, or was it (as Geoffrey Barraclough and others have argued) an invention of the World War II era? What can we do with the Atlantic Community concept, for intellectual as distinct from military or sentimental purposes?

Since this book does not tackle such questions, it tends to lapse into a miscellaneous, anecdotal narrative. Too many of its general statements are either platitudinous or dubious, and they are undermined by an excessive number of misprints and minor errors (Horatio Greenough appears as Greenhough, Walter Lippmann as Lippman, Gustavus Myers as Meyer, Josephus Daniels as Joseph Daniels, Paul Whiteman as Whitman, Mark Tobey as Toby, Willem de Kooning as de Koonig; the fifty-five delegates and thirty-nine signers at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 are given as sixty-five and fifty-five respectively). This is not the way one would wish to remember Robert Mead.

*University of Sussex*

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

THE PORTUGUESE SEABORNE EMPIRE, 1415-1825. By *C. R. Boxer*. [The History of Human Society.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 415, xiv. \$8.95.)

THE extent and duration of Portugal's dominion overseas has always seemed quite remarkable, for the Portuguese began as empire builders with some serious handicaps. Their small homeland was far from rich, and their population base (roughly a million inhabitants on the eve of the era of discoveries) was smaller than that of any other European imperial power. For centuries their so-called "shoestring empire" continuously drained the kingdom's manpower, in part, as Professor Boxer reminds us, be-

cause so many Lusitanians went to "the malarial and fever-stricken tropical coasts of Africa and Asia" and to the scarcely less hospitable littoral of Brazil, where many soon perished and from which relatively few returned to the kingdom. Curiously, despite their dependence on the seas, the Portuguese seldom possessed sufficient ships or seamen to service the needs of an empire that once stretched from Santos to Nagasaki. We have long needed a brief but comprehensive and reliable account that explains how Portugal managed to acquire and retain her vast empire in spite of repeated, often devastating adversities. For the period covered, Professor Boxer's new volume fulfills that need splendidly.

It is a pity that because of his controversial studies of race relations in the Portuguese empire Charles Boxer's name is no longer as highly and deservedly respected in certain circles in Portugal as it formerly was, for his voluminous publications (about thirty books and more than a hundred articles) have done more to encourage interest in the record of Portugal's achievements in the *ultramar* than have the writings of any other author, past or present. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, a broadly conceived synthesis that not only summarizes the essentials of what the author has learned about the Lusitanian empire during more than four decades of study but also the major findings of other leading students, is unquestionably one of Charles Boxer's finest scholarly achievements.

Since it would be manifestly impossible to provide equal coverage for all segments of the empire within brief compass, Professor Boxer emphasizes its most important components—India and Brazil—though he manages to devote a good deal of attention to developments within the kingdom itself. But he has comparatively little to say about the less vital parts of the empire such as the Atlantic islands, Mozambique, or Timor. His study is divided into two equal parts. The first, "Vicissitudes of Empire," consists of eight chronologically ordered chapters beginning with the founding of the empire at Ceuta (1415) and closing with Portugal's recognition of the loss of Brazil (1825), its most valuable overseas possession during the latter part of the period surveyed. Professor Boxer contrasts the early promise of the Eastern empire, "a military and maritime enterprise cast in an ecclesiastical mould," anchored by widely scattered forts, commercial entrepôts, and coastal settlements, with the Atlantic empire whose slave stations and plantations yielded less spectacular returns during the sixteenth century. Beginning early in the seventeenth century, however, the luster of the Eastern empire became tarnished as first the Dutch and then other European powers successfully appropriated key Portuguese bastions and destroyed the Lusitanian commercial hegemony. The long period of "stagnation and contraction" in the *Estado da Índia* (Sofala to Macao) continued during the latter half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries as the Portuguese sustained further territorial losses following defeats by the seafaring Omani Arabs (along the East African coast north of Mozambique) and the terrestrial Maratha (on the Malabar coast of India). But as Mr. Boxer demonstrates, Portuguese cultural influence (language and religion) survived in many parts of the East long after they were physically expelled. During the eighteenth century as the Eastern empire became an ever more burdensome liability, the Atlantic empire proved increasingly valuable because of the exploitation of mineral bonanzas in Brazil and the growth of the African slave trade based principally in Guinea and Angola. The last chapter of Part I includes an especially perceptive analysis of the Pombaline dictatorship (1750–77) and its impact on both the kingdom and the empire.

The second group of eight chapters are thematic discussions of salient "characteris-

tics of [the] empire." Here one encounters such familiar Boxer themes as the tribulations of the India and the Brazil fleets; the significance of those twin citadels of white, male, Old Christian local privilege, the municipal councils (*camaras*) and charitable societies (*casas de misericórdia*); the countervailing influences of the Inquisition (whose only colonial branch was at Goa) and the missionary orders; and the pervasiveness of racial and other forms of prejudice throughout the Lusitanian world. For remaining doubters Professor Boxer offers an abundance of fresh evidence to demonstrate the extent to which the Portuguese, like other Europeans, discriminated against not only darker skinned peoples but also those of presumed Jewish extraction (the so-called New Christians). He finds it "paradoxical . . . that a society which laid such stress on military, ecclesiastical and seigneurial status was largely dependent on trade and commerce. . . ." He might well have added lawyers to his list of artisans, merchants, traders, and sailors whom the landed and soldierly elites viewed with ill-concealed contempt. Although his concluding chapter contains a fascinating discussion of the persistence of messianic beliefs and their relationship to Portuguese nationalism, he would have rendered his readers a useful service had he pulled together the many threads of his elaborately and deftly woven fabric.

Here and there the specialist may wish to challenge Professor Boxer on particular points or to question why certain topics were omitted or given scant treatment. But all readers must admire the range and depth of the author's knowledge and his effort to present objective analyses of complex topics. The book bears the customary Boxer hallmarks of thorough craftsmanship—lucid prose spiced with unusual, apt quotations and astute observations (among the best, his analogy between one of Pombal's published and widely distributed anti-Jesuit diatribes and the *Thoughts* of Chairman Mao); an abundance of well-drawn maps; informative appendices; and a serviceable index. In keeping with the format of this series, the text is unencumbered by notes, which will delight undergraduates but will frustrate specialists, though the latter will find the extensive, annotated bibliography exceptionally valuable. Though modestly priced by today's standards, the book contains far too many blemishes, particularly for a publisher as renowned for the quality of his products as Alfred Knopf. Nevertheless, this is a book that ought to be of absorbing interest to all readers concerned about any part of the world where the Portuguese pioneered.

University of Washington

DAURIL ALDEN

UNCOMMON ORDURATE: THE SEVERAL PUBLIC CAREERS OF J. F. W. DesBARRES. By G. N. D. Evans. (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum. 1969. Pp. ix, 130. \$10.00.)

As a life of J. F. W. DesBarres, creator of that exquisite landmark in British hydrography, *The American Neptune*, *Uncommon Obdurate* must be accounted a disappointment simply because of the paucity of information available to the author. Because of this lack, the reader feels that this handsome, well-illustrated, and outrageously priced volume is a by-product dredged up from the parts bin of other works.

The maritime historian inevitably will be disappointed with the too brief account of the techniques and technology of the fifteen years it took to accomplish the monumental task of surveying, engraving, and publishing the *Neptune*. The scholar interested in latter-day colonial settlement in Canada may well derive more solid information. Evans is clearly more at home with DesBarres as land speculator and lieutenant-governor of first Cape Breton and then Prince Edward Island, offices he assumed

subsequent to the completion of the *Neptune*; and with the problems of quit-rent squabbles, absentee landlordism, and a colonial office still unreformed by the lessons of the revolt of the thirteen North American colonies.

The author's mastery of the legalistic intricacies of Whitehall and the Admiralty in which the litigious and curmudgeonly DesBarres—Evans refers to him as having a tendency toward megalomania and “less than a winsome personality”—was embroiled for the greater part of his extraordinarily long life (1721–1824), makes for interesting reading.

The critical bibliographical essay that ends the book should prove of value to scholars interested in the two main themes of this work.

*Smithsonian Institution*

MELVIN H. JACKSON

AFTERMATH OF REVOLUTION: BRITISH POLICY TOWARD THE UNITED STATES, 1783–1795. By *Charles R. Ritcheson*. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 505. \$10.00.)

THE main purpose of this book, as the author describes it, is “to lay out the fundamentals of British policy in the years immediately after the War for American Independence and to examine the interesting changes which developed in them.” Mr. Ritcheson examines afresh the Anglo-American relations during this period, testing the thesis that John Quincy Adams put forth in 1827 and that American historians have reflected ever since, namely that after 1783, “beaten in war and vengeful, Britain spurned the wise policy of conciliation preferring rather ‘the error of supercilious neglect.’” Ignoring the overtures for a commercial treaty suggested by John Adams, minister plenipotentiary in London, 1783–88, rebuffing Gouverneur Morris’ subsequent enquiries on the same subject, outrageously interfering with American shipping in the first years of the French war, Britain pressed on heedlessly to another conflict with the United States.

In contrast to this “understandably nationalistic” view (is it not also something of a straw man?) Mr. Ritcheson argues that there was in fact a natural Anglo-American community, and that wise politicians on both sides of the Atlantic tried to develop it. His heroes, naturally enough, are the men who did so, particularly Grenville, Hamilton, Jay, and John Adams; his antiheroes include Lord Hawkesbury, whose report recommending the exclusion of American ships from Caribbean ports set back immeasurably the negotiations for a commercial treaty, and far worse, Thomas Jefferson, who willfully sabotaged Anglo-American negotiations in hopes of developing in this country an unnatural and unfortunate affection for France.

Mr. Ritcheson establishes his conclusion in two ways. First, he cites the rapid expansion of Anglo-American trade after the Revolution, English dependence on American grain, investment by Englishmen in the American national debt, and widespread smuggling in defiance of trade restrictions as evidence for the strength of the Anglo-American community. His arguments are fresh, well-documented, and impressive, though they are almost exclusively economic, and one might question how much economic factors alone can develop a sense of community. (Mr. Ritcheson has elsewhere studied the distintegration of the Anglo-colonial community after 1765 in noneconomic terms.) Moreover Mr. Ritcheson, so very careful in documenting most points, deals surprisingly loosely with public opinion in England: do a handful of newspaper articles represent it? Or (horrors!) can he really say of Lord Sheffield’s *Observations* that “The roar of approval which greeted his performance was the voice of the nation”?



Second, he reviews in detail some of the postwar negotiations previously discussed at length by other historians; in particular he sets up—in order to attack—“conventional” interpretations of Gouverneur Morris’ mission to England, the Jefferson-Hammond negotiations, and the negotiations for Jay’s treaty. By Mr. Ritcheson’s analysis, for example, the “courteous and conciliatory” Hammond was met by “Jeffersonian frost.” Not all the remarks Mr. Ritcheson quotes, however, will bear the interpretation he puts on them. He shows that the documents are open to more than one interpretation; but there is a thin line between doing this and giving the impression that one man’s guess is as good as another’s.

This book, of course, invites comparison with works like Bemis’ study of Jay’s Treaty, and Malone’s study of Jefferson. It will be read alongside them as a balance and as a demonstration of the impossibility of “objective” history. If Mr. Ritcheson is guilty of reading too much into his evidence, his doing so shows how much other historians have read into theirs. It is essential reading for diplomatic historians.

*The American University*

ALISON G. OLSON

GLADSTONE AND KRUGER: LIBERAL GOVERNMENT AND COLONIAL ‘HOME RULE’ 1880–85. By *D. M. Schreuder*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 558. \$17.00.)

THE basic dilemma faced by nineteenth-century British policy makers in South Africa was to maintain control of the Cape without becoming engrossed in the interior. The Cape was vital for economic and strategic interests. Humanitarian and imperialist pressure pushed English leaders toward intervention. Yet the demands of economy, especially under Liberal administrations, the gulf between Boer and Briton in culture and motive, and the unwillingness of Cape colonists to assume a share of the burden all militated against involvement beyond the Cape. Successive governments tried to compromise these opposites, first by abandoning the Dutch trekkers, then by federation, and finally, in the last two decades of the century, by conceding them autonomy under British suzerainty. The anomalies of this last remained until they were resolved in the Boer War.

D. M. Schreuder explores the emergence of this third approach during Gladstone’s second government. He sees a policy of weakness, in part brought on by overextension of commitments, and he takes as his dominating concept “The manner and timing of the decline of British influence . . . in the politics of southern Africa, and the resultant rise to a position of new-found strength on the part of the Afrikaner leaders.” The Gladstone ministry, in the wake of the Midlothian campaign but before the Majuba Hill incident, adopted a conciliatory policy which they maintained throughout the remainder of the government. They retreated from federation but stopped short of the earlier independence policy, clinging instead to the concept of British suzerainty. Instead of disarming the assertive Boers, however, Schreuder suggests this weak response transferred initiative to Kruger, and worse yet, it did so unnecessarily because the Gladstonians overreacted to the momentary display of Afrikaner national unity after Majuba. Years before the gold discoveries enhanced Afrikaner strength, the Liberals had already begun a retreat.

The book’s title is more symbolic than descriptive. Gladstone and Kruger never met, and for long periods Gladstone was so distracted by Irish, Egyptian, and other affairs that his attention scarcely lighted on South African business. The point of view is, rather, that of British colonial administrators and their advisers in the field. Schreuder’s

scholarship is superb, almost excessive, but the sources are overwhelmingly British, and Afrikaner views appear indirectly. They reveal the struggle of Kimberley to reach a settlement with Kruger at Pretoria and then to keep him within it, followed by Derby's skillful playing of Cape politics to limit to acceptable bounds the revisions conceded in the London Convention. Schreuder notes that Gladstone's South African and Irish policies evolved concurrently, and he suggests that South African conciliation provided a model that was later followed in Irish Home Rule. Here as elsewhere he hesitates to press home his most tantalizing interpretations, but we can hope that further reflection mingled with more of this fine research will bring him to firm conclusions.

*University of Oklahoma*

WILLIAM H. MAEHL, JR.

IRELAND AND ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1899-1921. By *Alan J. Ward*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 291. \$9.50.)

In early 1899 Theodore Roosevelt believed that "The professional Irishman is losing his grip and the bulk of the Irish are becoming Americans." His assessment was correct for that moment; nevertheless, as this book shows, it was premature. Since the partial settlement of Anglo-American controversies by the Treaty of Washington, the influence of Irish-Americans on British-American relations had declined greatly. In both Ireland and America the Irish generally deferred major action while awaiting the results of Gladstone's home-rule campaign. Thanks partly to Gladstone, consequently, an Anglo-American rapprochement at the end of the century became possible.

But Gladstone died the year before Roosevelt made his remark; hopes for home rule had been dim since 1892; and in 1899 the Boer War started. The war came just when Ireland was ready to adopt forceful measures, and it furnished an occasion for doing so. From then until the settlement of 1921 the Irish problem almost constantly bedevilled Anglo-American relations, and to a much greater extent than in any previous period except just after the Civil War.

Ward gives an excellent account of the Irish role in defeating four Anglo-American arbitration treaties, fomenting anti-British sentiment in the United States during World War I, defeating the Treaty of Versailles, and compelling Great Britain (partly through pressure from America) to come to terms in 1921. His book is enlightening not only about Anglo-American relations but about the operation of a powerful pressure group. Moreover, Ward demonstrates again how difficult it is for a country composed of people with variegated and recent national backgrounds to have a coherent foreign policy. The book is well researched and well written.

Ward concludes that "the Irish did play an important role in Anglo-American relations and in the formulation of American, and to a lesser extent British, foreign policy." But how important? Even had Ireland not existed, the chances are that the arbitration treaties and the Treaty of Versailles would have failed, and that American anger against Britain would have been great in 1916. The forces drawing Britain and America together in the early twentieth century were too strong for even the Irish to weaken greatly.

*Claremont Graduate School*

CHARLES S. CAMPBELL

RUTHERFORD AND BOLTWOOD: LETTERS ON RADIOACTIVITY. Edited by *Lawrence Badash*. [Yale Studies in the History of Science and Medicine, Number 4.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1969. Pp. xxii, 378. \$12.50.)

THE publication of correspondence, in contrast to the publication of monographs, requires no apology, for such contributions are, in fact, of greater service to the historical community than to the historian-editor. And for historians of early twentieth-century science the value and importance of all such contributions is much enhanced by their paucity and by the increasing recognition that, in this period above all, history of science without reference to scientific correspondence is much like diplomatic history without reference to diplomatic correspondence—a bare sequence of consensuses with, at best, only a formal explanation of how they were achieved. For Rutherford we are fortunate to have in A. S. Eve's authorized biography (1939) one of the last of the genre of life and letters, those literary burial mounds typical of the late nineteenth century. It is there, above all in letters to his fiancée, later his wife, that the ambitious young colonial speaks frankly in the years 1895–1905. In the following twelve years, when Rutherford was between the ages of thirty-four and forty-five, he carried on a sustained correspondence with a coetaneous American chemist—one of those physically large men for whom Rutherford had a marked preference. Along with, and later in lieu of, the topic of radiochemistry, he and his correspondent expressed themselves frankly on scientific work and personalities (most often that of Sir William Ramsay). “Prof. B. B. Boltwood of Yale wrote many letters of the greatest interest to Rutherford,” Eve pointed out. “Some day these should all be printed in full, with Rutherford's replies.”

This Badash has now done, and done with care (which certainly cannot be said of Eve). Badash has, moreover, identified (with but few exceptions) the publications and persons mentioned or alluded to in the letters. These biographical notes, although not always quite relevant or perfectly accurate, form the bulk and the best of the editorial comment. As for the scientific content of the letters, Badash has limited himself largely to annotating the easy and familiar, namely Rutherford's well-known physical researches, while the specific scientific content of this correspondence, difficult and unfamiliar radiochemistry, remains unilluminated. Nor is light shed here by the introduction, a brief, semipopular sketch without notes (but sprinkled with errors and, to my mind, silly dicta). At the other end, the index is almost complete in respect of persons and scientific and academic institutions, and, while general social categories are wanting, scientific ones appear.

*University of Rochester*

PAUL FORMAN

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF NAHUM GOLDMANN: SIXTY YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE. Translated by *Helen Sebba*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1969. Pp. viii, 358. \$7.95.)

PIONIER DER VERWIRKLICHUNG: EIN ARZT AUS DEUTSCHLAND ERZÄHLT VOM BEGINN DER ZIONISTISCHEN BEWEGUNG UND SEINER NIEDERLASSUNG IN PALÄSTINA KURZ NACH DER JAHRHUNDERTWENDE. By *Elias Auerbach*. [Veröffentlichung des Leo Baeck Instituts.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1969. Pp. 411. DM 25.)

PARTS of both books are of interest only to special groups of readers: readers concerned with the minutiae of Zionist politics (Dr. Goldmann's volume), or readers emotionally

involved in the beginnings of modern Jewish settlement in Palestine (Dr. Auerbach's narrative.) Nevertheless, there is much material in both to make them rewarding to the historian of the Middle East and its culture, to the student of modern European history, and to the anthropologist.

Nahum Goldmann, little known in the United States, acted as a major spokesman for suffering Jewish minorities during the Nazi and post-Nazi period. He was representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, first to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations, head of the World Jewish Congress, and chairman of the Paris-based Comité des Délégations Juives. What made his negotiations effective was his acute, if not always subtle political sense, the charm of his personality, and the independence and freedom he manifested in dealing with those in power. The fact that neither he nor the organizations he represented had power in any real sense did not inhibit him in his fight for Jewish civil rights and against discrimination. His autobiography—written in an easygoing and engaging style—leaves one with the notion that the high and mighty (Cardinal and Secretary of State Pacelli, Russian Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov, and Mussolini, to mention only a few) were quite impressed with this outspoken, courageous, and spirited Jew and ascribed to him more potency than he ever could hope to possess. At one point, a member of the Hapsburg family tried to enlist his support for a Hapsburg restoration!

Goldmann must also be credited with evoking in German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his associates a sense of moral responsibility for the genocide of the Jewish community in the Hitler era and with persuading Germany to make restitution to surviving victims. Of equal importance in his career was his vigorous activity to get the original plan to partition Palestine approved by both the American government and the Zionist leadership. Toning down the fact that this partition was originally a British plan, he concentrates on his own efforts, negotiations, and strategies on behalf of its fruition. The sections dealing with this issue are a brilliant lesson in diplomacy, international relations, and the role of personal rivalry in political life. In the end the refusal of the Arabs to accept partition changed the entire project and created a radically new political constellation.

In 1909 Dr. Elias Auerbach, gynecologist and surgeon, left his native Germany for a pioneer's life in Palestine, then a part of the Ottoman Empire. He built the first hospital in Haifa, worked toward modernization of medical services, founded the Haifa Jewish community, participated in the establishment of a model high school and a technical college. Against the background of these facts the author successfully recreates the social and cultural atmosphere of the time: the friendly contact between Arabs and Jews, the beneficent influence of the German colony, the frictions between the various religious orders, the survival of ancient customs and mores, the idealism of the Jewish immigrants, and their adjustment to very primitive living conditions.

For many years Dr. Auerbach was engaged in Biblical studies in preparation of a nontheological history of ancient Israel. The two-volume work, *Wüste und Gelobtes Land* (*Desert and Promised Land* [1936]), appeared later, after the period of time covered in his autobiography.

Both volumes are more than autobiographies; they offer perceptive, mature insights into their respective periods and areas. Useful indexes are appended to each book.

Brandeis University

NAHUM N. GLATZER

GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN 1911-15: A STUDY OF BRITISH FAR EASTERN POLICY. By *Peter Lowe*. ([New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. 343. \$16.50.)

THE ESTRANGEMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN, 1917-35. By *Malcolm D. Kennedy*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. 363. \$7.95.)

TOGETHER these books cover the detailed history of Anglo-Japanese relations from the second renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 until the deadlock over the ratio system at the preliminary naval talks in London in 1934. Epilogues in both books summarize the developments in the Far East up to the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Lowe's account of the benefits and hazards of the Anglo-Japanese alliance leads into Kennedy's record of its abrogation and the consequences thereof. These authors, however, represent different approaches to diplomatic history. Peter Lowe, a lecturer in history at Manchester University, bases his thorough, documented study on official and private British papers and the printed sources of the West. He takes an objective view of Britain's Far Eastern policy and carefully appraises men like Sir Edward Grey and Sir John N. Jordan who made it. In contrast Captain Kennedy writes largely from his own diaries and notes made while working in Japan during most of the period covered. In a succession of positions as a British officer on language attachment to the Japanese army, a business man, and a Reuter's correspondent, he came to know the Japanese people and their leaders, thus developing a sympathetic understanding of their sensitivities, pride, and feelings of insecurity—even their ambitions in China and anti-American attitudes—as they emerged as a great power. His work adds color, human anecdotes, and the point of view of an observer on the spot to the history of conflicting Far Eastern interests.

According to Lowe, the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance contained seeds of friction, even though renewed with confidence by both governments in 1911 for the purpose of mutual defense and peace in Asia. The avowed object of the partners to maintain the open door and independence of China was at variance with their national aims regarding China: Britain wishing to hold to the status quo, Japan desiring to expand her position in China's domains. The outbreak of the revolution in China and the subsequent establishment of a republic raised questions of joint policy that soon precipitated disagreement. Between 1911 and 1914 Britain's determined opposition to Japan's proposals for cooperation in political intervention and the economic development of China led Japan to decide upon independent action. The beginning of the war in Europe temporarily checked her and soon demonstrated the benefits of the alliance to both members.

Japan's destruction of Germany's Pacific fleet, her take-over of the German-held islands north of the equator, and her occupation—in conjunction with Britain—of the German concession in Shantung gave Britain invaluable assistance, while greatly strengthening her own position in the Pacific. But she shook the foundations of the alliance in January 1915 when, without previously informing her partner, she presented the Twenty-One Demands to China, hoping thereby to make China a Japanese protectorate. Although a Sino-Japanese war and the termination of the alliance were avoided by British mediation in May, dislike and distrust of Japan were widespread when the war ended.

The abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance became an open question. Japan wished it to continue, having achieved great power under its protection and needing the security it afforded in a hostile world. Britain and her dominions recognized its

importance for their defense in the Far East, favoring its renewal in a modified form. But the United States, at odds with Japan on several counts, relentlessly opposed its continuance. Since harmonious relations with America were of primary concern to Britain, she yielded to American pressure and abrogated the alliance at the Washington Conference of 1921. Kennedy foretold the consequences of this abrogation and records the fulfillment of his predictions: Japan's humiliation at being discarded by Britain for American friendship; her bold aggrandizement of her position in Manchuria and China, unhampered by British restraint; her growing hatred of Britain and the United States as hostile critics; and finally her alliance with their enemies. His knowledge of the bearing of Japan's domestic conflicts on her foreign policy adds much to an understanding of her fanatical behavior.

*Washington, D. C.*

GRACE FOX

WHILE CHINA FACED WEST: AMERICAN REFORMERS IN NATIONALIST CHINA, 1928-1937. By *James C. Thomson, Jr.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 38.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xv, 310. \$7.95.)

CHIANG Kai-shek's failure in China was foreseen in the 1930's by a host of American observers, missionaries as well as diplomats. Perhaps more clearly than the diplomats, American Protestant missionaries understood the urgent need for land reform, understood the importance of alleviating peasant misery if the mandate of heaven was not to be wrested from Chiang's hands through violent revolution. Thomson has written a thoughtful study of the impact on China of a few Americans of good will, missionaries and foundation representatives who sought to carry out programs of rural reconstruction—programs that Chiang's government never took quite seriously enough. He writes extremely well, treating his subjects with uncommonly mature judgment, always with sympathetic understanding, without ever making the mistake of seeing them as they saw themselves. The book is also an excellent example of the value of missionary sources for an understanding of modern China and American influence there.

Thomson's best-developed figure is George Shepherd, a New Zealand born American missionary who viewed himself as a Christian Borodin, granted an opportunity to direct China toward a Western liberal future through rural reconstruction and ideological reform while engaged in a conscious race against the Communists. Behind the scene stands Mme. Chiang, who conceived of using American missionaries as cadres and succeeded in winning the occasional support of her husband, who preferred military solutions, and of skeptical mission leaders, wisely fearful of identification with the Kuomintang regime. But as the result of Mme. Chiang's efforts, Americans who had been struggling to reform rural China without adequate financial support and without the cooperation of local officials found themselves backed by the Chinese government. As Shepherd asked, what would Borodin have done with such an opportunity?

Thomson's vision transcends the limited focus of this monograph, indicating his awareness of the larger questions his study poses. How can Americans succeed in the role of reformers in underdeveloped countries? Can they avoid becoming instruments of the *ancien régime*, enemies of the revolution? Can they rise above the corrupting grasp of the privileged status they enjoy abroad? If one people or nation is determined to aid another, in what form will this aid be most effective? Thomson's governmental experience suggests the value of the Rockefeller Foundation's program begun by



Selskar Gunn, whose "consuming aim was to root Western assistance in Chinese institutions and only to stimulate, never to envelop, constructive indigenous efforts." The book is important, therefore, not only as a study of particular intercultural influences, but also as an introduction to the complications inherent in the American reformer's mission abroad.

*Michigan State University*

WARREN I. COHEN

THE SWASTIKA AND THE EAGLE: HITLER, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR II. By *James V. Compton*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 297. \$6.95.)

ADOLF Hitler, while no Crèvecoeur or Walt Whitman, had some interesting notions about the American scene: "Transfer a German to Kiev, and he remains a perfect German. Transfer him to Miami and you make a degenerate of him—in other words—an American." Though this may not have been Hitler's soberest assessment of the United States, it reflected his persistent attitude of malign neglect. Convinced that an incurable inner crisis would keep America from decisive action, Hitler long ignored the warnings of German diplomats in Washington. James V. Compton, an American scholar at the University of Edinburgh, shows that he was similarly selective in what he chose to believe about Japan. From a careful examination of *Documents on German Foreign Policy* and other published and unpublished sources, Compton argues that Hitler, in recklessly encouraging Japanese expansionism, was moved more by a "Barbarossa obsession" against the Soviet Union than by a rational analysis of the current and future distribution of power in the Atlantic and Pacific. He grossly and fatally miscalculated American and Japanese capabilities and intentions.

Despite a valiant effort, Compton does not quite succeed in showing how the "terrible simplifier" arrived at his wrong conclusions. Noting that Hitler never systematically developed his vision of the postwar world, Compton concludes from a review of the abundant evidence in captured German records that he was unable to rise above his Continental prejudices, which may be another way of saying that he had finally attained his level of incompetence. Whatever Hitler's ultimate aims may have been (and on this much-disputed point Compton seems to be of the conservative school), he certainly conveyed to many the idea that he was a revolutionary nihilist, and a singularly unpleasant one at that. The darker aspects of the Nazi upheaval do not emerge very sharply in this study, which is primarily an essay in traditional diplomatic history, but the narrow focus is really no handicap, for in 1940 and 1941 there was very little contact among the United States, Germany, and Japan except through governmental channels, and relationships were almost as abstract as those on a chessboard.

Mr. Compton offers penetrating comment on such subjects as planning versus opportunism in Hitler's foreign policy, disagreements among various German elements, and the lack of trust between Germany and Japan. His judgments do not always agree with those of Presseisen, Meskill, Trefousse, Frye, and other writers on this crucial period, but they are clearly and forcefully stated.

*US Department of State*

FREDRICK AANDAHL

## Ancient

PHYSIOGNOMICS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD. By *Elizabeth C. Evans*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LIX, Part 5.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1969. Pp. 101. \$4.00.)

RARELY does a monograph attain its goals of comprehensiveness, clarity, and concentration, but Professor Evans' authoritative book has achieved that distinction. Seeking to explicate the role in classical antiquity of natural physiognomy, or "the art of interpreting character from the physique," her monograph analyzes the technical aspects of physiognomic theory and practice as a quasi-science, often closely related to medicine, and as an inferential art, employed in literature, rhetoric, and ancient portraiture. Limiting her study to literary evidence, largely from pagan sources, the author has followed the patterns established by the Hellenistic pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomica* in emphasizing the formal properties of physiognomy, those classified inferences drawn from a parallelism in physique and nature between men and animals and from ethnographical characterizations. She also develops very sensitively the "physiognomic consciousness" of ancient writers, manifested in the use of facial expressions and their associated psychological dispositions as presented in descriptions of momentary physical appearance and transient psychological states. In this respect, the great eighteenth-century physiognomist J. K. Lavater has a modern successor, rather as an historian of ancient ideas and attitudes than as a didactic psychologist.

The author begins with a descriptive analysis of the ancient physiognomical treatises from Aristotle to the late antique *Physiognomonica Latina*, and then proceeds to establish the interest of the philosophers and medical writers on physiognomics, including the theoretical relationships between physiognomy and the humors. Seneca with his moral essays (especially *De Ira*) and his tragedies (especially *Medea* and *Hippolytus*) is the central figure in her discussion of the physiognomic repertory in drama, given impetus in the plays of Euripides and the New Comedy, the characterology of Theophrastus and the Hellenistic biographers, and the moral judgements of Stoicism. Seneca's definitions of rhetorical terms used for iconistic and physiognomical descriptions, *exempla*, and literary portraiture are followed in rhetorical theory, strongly developed in the *Auctor ad Herennium* and in the writings of Cicero, Quintilian, Philostratus, and the Imperial panegyrists. The effects of the pseudo-Aristotelian manual and related theories are traced in ancient history and biography, beginning with Polybius, moderately in Livy, trenchantly in Tacitus, and profoundly in Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, Plutarch, and the *Historia Augusta*, showing the developed concern for the relation between a man's appearance and his inner character. Historical motifs are subsequently contrasted with the typological patterns of physiognomic characterization used in epic, elegaic, and lyric poetry and in satire, epigram, and fiction, each with its distinctive forms. Finally, this excellent work concludes with an acute examination of physiognomics in the fourth century A.D. as demonstrated by the pagan intellectuals around Julian, by the Church Fathers Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Ambrose, and by the Christian writer Nemesius of Emesa on the *Nature of Man*, all deeply affected by Galen and by an overriding preoccupation with the essential character of the Good Man.

Although the abundant evidence offered by the numerous surviving portraits of Greeks and Romans in the fine arts has been deliberately excluded, these images, too, provide corroboration of physiognomic penetration into portraiture, as demonstrated

by M. Rambaud (*Latomus* 70 [1964], 599–610) on the morphopsychology of a marble portrait of Caesar in Turin.

Columbia University

RICHARD BRILLIANT

LA RELIGION GRECQUE: DIEUX, CULTES, RITES ET SENTIMENT RELIGIEUX DANS LA GRÈCE ANTIQUE. By Édouard des Places, S. J. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1969. Pp. 396. 80 fr.)

ANYONE who knows Father des Places and his work, both as a scholar and as professor at the Biblical Institute and the Gregorian University in Rome, has been conditioned to expect thoroughness and authoritativeness. The same qualities characterize this volume on a subject that is of particular interest to students of ancient religion and history. Too often the ancient Greeks have been pictured as rationalists and philosophers, and their polytheistic religion, which is so strange to the modern student because it was a religion without a creed, without dogmas, without an organized church hierarchy, and *à peu près sans prêtres*, has been glossed over, even though it played a much greater role in the lives and thinking of the ancient Greeks than admirers and critics are wont to acknowledge ("Et pourtant la religion occupe dans la vie grecque une place considérable et constante.") Certain scholars, like H. J. Rose, Arthur Darby Nock, Martin P. Nilsson, E. R. Dodds, A.-J. Festugière, and Édouard des Places, have done admirable work in putting Greek cultic religion in its proper perspective in the history of the ancient Greeks.

Professor des Place deals comprehensively with subjects from Homer to the New Testament, drawing upon the resources of archeology, history, literature, philosophy, and religion. He notes briefly, but knowledgeably, the contribution of contemporary scholarship to a better understanding of the role and significance of ancient Greek religion, and likewise for a better understanding of early Christianity. Ancient Greek religion and the *polis* were closely connected. Des Places appropriately quotes Fustel de Coulanges: "Dans la société antique, cité et religion sont étroitement unies . . . La cité a un caractère religieux et la religion a un caractère politique. Le but essentiel de la religion est la prospérité de la cité: aussi l'irreligion est-elle un crime." Throughout his book Father des Places seems to emphasize that the ancient Greeks often came close to, but never did achieve, a monotheistic religion ("celle-ci n'a jamais connu le monothéisme strict, mais seulement 'soit une synthèse de tous les dieux ou de plusieurs, soit un principe philosophique ou théologique'"); that, in addition, they never achieved a belief in a personal deity. It would seem much more relevant to say that the ancients did achieve a *henotheistic* concept of deity (Hesiod, Solon, Aeschylus, for example) that was stronger in some periods than at others and that was even personal to some extent. Since ancient Greek religion was never a dogmatic religion, it will never be possible to generalize in the way one can generalize about Christianity or Judaism.

*La Religion grecque* should be required reading of every graduate student and teacher of ancient Greek history. In concise form, supported by full bibliography and relevant support from the ancient sources, both literary, epigraphical, archeological, and historical, Father des Places deals in Part I with the Greek gods and their cults as well as their feast days, abstract divinities, the cult of the dead, prayers for the dead, divination, sacrifices, priests, interdicts and purifications, popular religion and the domestic cult, and cult prayers. In Part II the ancient sources are examined in some detail for evidence of Greek religiosity ("*le sentiment religieux*," "*Religiosität*"). This is an extremely interesting part of the book, as it surveys Greek literature from Homer

to Proclus for evidence of religiosity and examines Orphism, Pythagoreanism, the mysteries of Eleusis, Epicureanism, Stoicism, Greek religious thought just before the Christian era, astrology and the occult, the idea of sin, Platonism and Neoplatonism, various forms of religious attitude, foreign gods, mysteries, and initiations on the eve of Christianity, ecstasy, deification, and the trend toward monotheism. In Part III Father des Places, appropriately enough, tries to place ancient Greek religion in historical perspective with relation to Christianity, discussing specifically the religious mentality of the first century of the Christian era, the meaning of *deisidaimōn* (*superstitiosus*), the "unknown God," "Temples made by the hand of man," *chronos* and *kairos*, and the relation of man to God, specifically as they relate to the Book of Acts and help clarify the relation of ancient Greek religion to early Christianity. An appendix of Greek religious vocabulary with pertinent bibliography, indexes of the gods, heroes, divine abstractions (I); of feast days (II); of Greek terms (III); and of ancient authors and wise men (IV) make the book eminently usable.

*La Religion grecque*, published with the cooperation of the National Center of Scientific Research, deserves to become a standard work of reference for those who wish specific information on a given aspect of the subject. It is an excellent handbook for students who need to know the role and significance of ancient Greek religion in some detail.

Colgate University

JOHN E. REXINE

A HISTORY OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY. Volume III, THE FIFTH-CENTURY ENLIGHTENMENT. By *W. K. C. Guthrie*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xvi, 543. \$16.50.)

THIS is the third volume in Professor Guthrie's monumental exposition of the history of Greek philosophical thought. The first two volumes traced the course of Greek philosophy from its origins in Miletus to Democritus and the atomist school of the fifth century. In the present work the richly diversified, energetic, and remarkably subtle philosophizing of the fifth century (all of which is strikingly relevant to contemporary predilections and perplexities) is surveyed and studied in detail. This was a brilliant period: the age of the Sophists and of Socrates. Professor Guthrie uses an apt and suggestive analogy between the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and "the exuberant world of the Athenian Enlightenment." The analogy is judiciously employed in further illuminating the sparkling and many-faceted intellectual character of the fifth century.

There were two main aspects of this Enlightenment. There was the initial extraordinary intellectual ferment and vitality in an atmosphere free from the restraints of tradition, custom, and prejudice. Profound questions were raised concerning the function and purpose of society, the uses of power, and the desirability of authority and equality; the nature of moral concepts and ideals of conduct and their justification; the nature of knowledge (an important part of this question having to do with language and the relation of language to the world); and the defense of religious belief or atheism. The matrix of these queries, and the grounds, so to speak, upon which specific contests took place, was the great *nomos-physis* controversy. Are ethical and political ideas and practices, are intellectual judgments, indeed the very language we use, the products of convention, *nomos*, or do these have some basis in nature, reality, *physis*? The antithesis is present in all of the major disputes and discussions of the time. The other aspect of the period was the person of Socrates, the embodiment

of enlightenment and the figure in whom the tendencies and spirit of the age found its greatest philosopher.

Professor Guthrie concentrates upon these two aspects of fifth-century intellectual life. Commencing with the world of the Sophists, he discusses the methods and outlook of that profession and the philosophers, historians, and poets who took distinctive *physis-nomos* positions; Sophist discussions of social structure and purpose; the thesis of ethical relativism; conceptions of rhetoric, language, and philosophy; the theories of religion, agnosticism, and atheism. He also deals with the individual Sophists and their contributions: Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, Antiphon, Thrasymachus, and others. The entire period has generally been unjustly neglected or misrepresented by historians in the past. Werner Jaeger's chapter on the Sophists (*Paideia*, Vol. I) is a notable exception for its accuracy and sensitivity. Guthrie's volume is a major advance of historical understanding.

In the second part of his book, some 165 pages of penetrating and informative analysis, Professor Guthrie focuses on Socrates, his life and character, his philosophical contribution, and his significance.

In addition to the main exposition, there are references to and analyses of important documents. The views of Thucydides and Greek dramatists and the actual course of historical events, as clarifying and illustrating the philosophical materials, are skillfully woven into Professor Guthrie's story.

The result is that this book, like the age it reflects, is a brilliant achievement. Professor Guthrie's study combines remarkable erudition and inclusiveness of scope with a lucid and readable style. On controversial points he presents the alternative positions and scholarly disagreements fairly and refers the interested reader to additional literature on the subject in question. Valuable bibliographical references to current and to established literature and helpful footnotes add interest to an already fascinating text. While the conception and organization of this book are highly original, Professor Guthrie succeeds in giving us the most balanced and perceptive treatment of fifth-century thought that has yet been written. Accordingly, his volume will interest all students of history, philosophy, and literature, and will undoubtedly establish itself as the authoritative work in this field.

*City College of the City University of New York*

H. S. THAYER

ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ART: ESSAYS AND STUDIES. By *Sir Ian Richmond*. Edited by *Peter Salway*. (London: Faber and Faber. 1969. Pp. 294. 70s.)

SIR Ian Richmond, the authority on the archeology of Roman Britain, left a number of unfinished and unpublished papers on his death in 1965. Peter Salway, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, has succeeded in preparing several of these papers for publication despite serious problems; some survived in several different versions with no evidence of which version represented Richmond's latest view, and almost all footnotes had to be supplied. Another problem was that some of Richmond's opinions at the time of writing have been superseded by more recent work, particularly in dating some archeological remains. Salway solved these editorial problems with the aid of other archeologists. Since it was his feeling that the text should not be altered but should "stand in its own right as an expression of Richmond's views at specific periods in his career," Salway has supplemented it by footnotes providing sources and supplying new information.

*Roman Archaeology and Art* contains Richmond's Ford Lectures for 1951: "Britain

in the Third and Fourth Centuries," a topographical survey corrected in a number of notes by John Mann, and the J. H. Gray Lectures for 1952, "The Romano-British Countryside," describing rural estates, villages, temples, and shrines. The picture presented in these lectures of provincial life in the third and fourth centuries is less gloomy than it is usually depicted. Although some repetition cannot be avoided in the two series of lectures, together they form a comprehensive picture of Roman Britain and add details of provincial life throughout the Empire. As Richmond said, "British archaeology has taken us further along the path of knowledge than it is possible to advance in most provinces of the Empire." Two brief papers on Roman Britain are "Hadrian's Wall" and "Spanish Troops in Roman Britain." Other papers attest to Richmond's knowledge of archeology in other portions of the Roman Empire. They include a discussion of Roman military engineering, a description of remains from the Roman *colonia* at Aosta, a comparison of provincial palaces from many parts of the Empire, and analyses of a number of monuments: the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, the Arch of Titus, Flavian reliefs found below the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, and reliefs from the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. Richmond's versatility as a student of classical civilization can be seen in his essay "Fame and Immortality in the Roman World," which is based entirely upon literary sources.

The old proverb, one picture is worth a thousand words, may be trite, but this book proves it true. *Roman Archaeology and Art* contains eight plates and eleven figures, and although many more would have added greatly to the cost, they also would have aided the reader. Illustrations to accompany Richmond's interpretations of the symbolic meaning of the reliefs on imperial monuments and a map of Britain, showing Roman names of cities and districts, would have been useful. This is hardly a substantive criticism, however. Students of Roman art and archeology and admirers of Sir Ian Richmond must be grateful to Peter Salway for making these studies available.

Florida State University, Tallahassee

RALPH V. TURNER

LIFE AND LEISURE IN ANCIENT ROME. By J. P. V. D. Balsdon. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1969. Pp. 463. \$8.95.)

THE author of this attractive book—he is president of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies—has already won recognition as a perceptive and well-informed interpreter of Roman society and culture. The expectations aroused by his *Roman Women* (1963) and his essays in *The Romans* (1965) are fulfilled here. This does not mean that other important works on Roman life are superseded. The collections of literary evidence and the descriptions in Marquardt (1887) and Friedlander (10th ed., 1919–21) remain fundamental, and Carcopino's *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (Eng. trans., 1940) usefully emphasizes the physical aspects of a limited period. There is, however, a welcome and significant place for a book with a more dynamic and functional approach, which concentrates on "the lives which people actually led in respect of work and leisure" and expresses a more contemporary concern "with the significance of work and with the employment of leisure." Recently discovered archaeological and epigraphical sources, especially valuable in revealing the interests and activities of ordinary men, are well exploited. Among villas, for example, there is reference to such recent work as the excavation of the Republican country villa at Francolise near Capua.

The choice of subjects and their organization is consistent with the emphasis of the book. Beginning with the divisions of the day, we meet frequently forgotten details such



as the seasonal variation in the length of the hours or the usual omission of the siesta in winter. The opening chapters deal with the activities of the day (humble workers are not forgotten), the sequences of the year, the calendar, the festivals and celebrations, even Christian additions, while noting the need from time to time to clear out antiquated holidays in order to restore more room for public and private business. The discussion of the family, while proceeding from birth to execution of wills, includes such contemporary problems as natural fecundity and population control. Here is pointed out the flaw in a recent theory that the disappearance of noble families was due to lead poisoning: "The community's water came through the same lead pipes; within any class of society, food was cooked in the same kind of pots." The sections "Work; Life in the Sun" on public service, and "Leisure; Life in the Shade" on withdrawal or retirement afford a fresh statement of Roman ideas of respectable employment, as well as the hard work to which *otium* was often dedicated. Accounts of senators' holidays spent in country or seaside villas, or of soldiers on leave, of travel for tourism, of education or business, and of the immense and expensive variety of popular entertainment complete a well-rounded presentation of *quidquid agunt homines*, the whole infused with the urbanity of Horace without lapses into the indignation of Juvenal or the austerity of Seneca.

Happy remarks or observations abound. Libraries were built facing East in order to get the morning light, since morning was when they were used. On the bath: "That in the Empire cleanliness was next to decadence was a view commonly expressed by the Romans themselves." Apicius was "the uncrowned king of the culinary world." "Old people, men and women alike, who have no children, are an inviting prey to the legacy hunters, in the modern world particularly to the charitable institution." "As other countries have found, education is in danger of floundering with youth at the helm." "Rome demanded a large professional versatility from its essentially amateur governing class." And there is the attractive suggestion that St. Paul could produce a copy of a birth certificate in evidence of his Roman citizenship.

The plates, though few, are excellent and relevant, and references to ancient sources brief and convenient. Misprints are few and unimportant, but on Plate I (C), Venus Genetrix should be Venus Victrix, and on p. 378, note 79, the title of Marrou's book should be ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ.

While the author avoids "text bookishness" of manner and design, his combination of liveliness and learning, wit and style, make this excellent reading for courses on Roman life and civilization.

*University of North Carolina*

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

ROMAN MEDICINE. By *John Scarborough*. [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. 238. \$7.50.)

IN this nicely printed and copiously illustrated book Professor Scarborough examines the "Roman view of medicine" and comes to some conclusions about the "nature of medicine in the Roman world." Ten chapters (about 150 pages) are devoted to the beginnings of Roman medicine, the origins of the Hellenistic medical tradition and its introduction into Rome, Cato and the medical encyclopedists, medical practice in military and civilian life, and the doctor in his relation to Roman society. There are four appendixes entitled "Biographical Sketches," "Sources and Problems," "On Human Dissection in Roman Medicine," and "Some Notes on Roman Veterinary Medicine."

The appendixes are followed by footnotes and a bibliography that fill some fifty-five pages.

It is abundantly clear that Professor Scarborough is well versed in the subject of Roman medicine, and the illustrations that adorn his book are exceptionally good, but it is doubtful that he has achieved the avowed aim of this series, *Aspects of Greek and Roman Life*: namely, to appeal to scholars, students, and the general reader. This may well be an impossible goal. In this instance, at any rate, it seems likely that the scholar will not find the treatment substantial, while the general reader may wish for something livelier. As for the student, it is difficult to say, although one feels that his needs could have been better served by a different organization of the material and by the inclusion of more detail drawn from the ancient authors. The last three appendixes, for example, could have been incorporated into the body of the work where, incidentally, the sequence of topics within the chapters is sometimes unexpected. Again, one suspects that unless the student had read Cato, Celsus, Galen, Aretaeus, and Soranus, he would not get all that he might, or should, from Professor Scarborough's book.

On the positive side, Professor Scarborough does demonstrate nicely that Roman medicine was a "summary of medical traditions from the Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman worlds," and his treatment of Celsus, for example, as well as his discussion of surgical instruments are among the many good things in his book. His work, as it stands, will please certain readers, but more thoughtful editing could have led to some improvements.

*University of Minnesota*

TOM B. JONES

HANNIBAL: CHALLENGING ROME'S SUPREMACY. By Sir Gavin de Beer.  
[Studio Book.] (New York: Viking Press. 1969. Pp. 319. \$9.95.)

SIR Gavin de Beer has distinguished himself as a soldier and scientist as well as a historian. He has traveled widely and now lives in Switzerland. He describes his favorite pastime as "wandering about." For many years he has been interested in Hannibal, especially in the famous march through the Alps; and to this subject he brings not only a familiarity with the Greek and Latin sources and a detailed knowledge of the Alpine terrain, but special skills in geology, geography, and biology. It is his knowledge of biology that has enabled him to identify the different species or subspecies of war elephants used in Hannibal's time, explaining some confusing remarks by Greek and Latin writers concerning the relative size, strength, and reliability of African and Indian elephants. This chapter should interest even a specialist.

The book, however, is intended for the general reader. That is plain from the long and elementary introduction, the absence of footnotes, and lavish use of beautiful pictures, and the fine paper and binding. Such a reader should be provided with a better bibliography. Most of Sir Gavin's titles are out of date, hard to get, or in foreign languages. The narrative contains a few minor errors, but the author unfolds his dramatic and complicated story so that it is easy to follow and ought to inspire all but the most bovine mentality. In the past, it always has. One may wonder today, however, how Hannibal and Scipio may appear to a people who shrink from danger and sacrifice and yet demand of their leaders nothing short of instant success; who, when forced to act, always prefer half measures and seek an easy way out; and who will not believe that in some circumstances the price of safety is not money, but blood. There were people of that sort in Hannibal's time: they were the Carthaginians.

*University of Louisville*

LAURENCE LEE HOWE

THE WORLD OF TACITUS. By *Donald R. Dudley*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1968. Pp. 271. \$6.50.)

THE world of Tacitus, Professor Dudley points out, is not the world of the modern historian in which economics, society, religion, the military machine, urban and rural development, finance, trade and commerce, politics and governmental administration, among others, are the forces conditioning the events of history. Although Tacitus touches upon these matters, too, his world is the world of individuals who, in the emperor's palace, in the senate, in the army, and in the provinces, are shaping the course of events through the state and its institutions.

From his personal experience in public life, with perceptive judgment and a skeptical, sometimes cynical, and usually somber approach, Tacitus records in concise but telling and graphic language what he feels motivated public figures and what influences were brought to bear upon them in their actions. He is concerned to consider what lessons can be learned for himself and for his readers from the revolution that in its first stage destroyed the Roman Republic and in its second stage, during years of peace at the center of government, diminished the liberty and the independent action of the senatorial aristocracy, which he believed had been largely responsible for Rome's greatness. The chief duty of the historian, Tacitus felt, was "to see to it that virtue is placed on record, and that evil men and evil deeds have cause to fear the judgment at the bar of posterity," and he found more to say in the history of his times about the latter than the former.

The book is admirably balanced in its presentation and is eminently readable. There is scarcely any aspect of Tacitus or of his writings about which the general reader might wish to be informed that is not adequately treated. The author has achieved Tacitean brevity and wit and avoided Tacitus' less frequently mentioned occasional prolixity. The style is lively and pointed; the narrative is coherent and illuminated by brief and pertinent quotations from the writings of Tacitus. The notes are kept to a minimum and contain much information in brief compass to complement the text and to put the reader in touch with modern scholarship. The author seems to be in general agreement with the positions taken by Sir Ronald Syme in his monumental two-volume work on Tacitus.

Within a framework of introductory chapters entitled "Life and Writings," "The Writing of History," "Narrative" (a treatment of style and structure in the *Annals* and *Histories*), "Characters," and a concluding chapter on the *Nachleben* of Tacitus, the author sets *The World of Tacitus*—"Emperor and Court," "The Senate," "The Army," "Rome, City and People," "The Provinces," and "Beyond the Frontiers of the Roman World"—a close-knit narrative of the actors and action in each of these areas.

*University of Texas*

O. W. REINMUTH

ROMAN FREEDMEN DURING THE LATE REPUBLIC. By *Susan Treggiari*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 293. \$8.95.)

MRS. Treggiari's study of freedmen during the late republican period is an important contribution to the social history of ancient Rome. As a matter of fact, this reviewer was as impressed by her judicious statements regarding social values among the Romans as by her handling of documentation and scholarship regarding the narrower topic of her chosen subject. It is hoped that she will extend her research and writing into the broader and neglected area of social history for which her training, talents, and interests obviously suit her.

The author, although she has selected a rather limited topic for examination, has undertaken a difficult one, the many strands of which lead to the common cul-de-sac of ancient scholarship—the ever present paucity of source material. The conception of such a study as this depends in large measure, therefore, on organization. The design of the contents of this book serves the author's purpose well and leaves few, if any, questions untouched. She begins with a definition of freedmen and a description of their status in Roman society within a discussion of manumission that includes an investigation in general terms of their background and various reasons for and methods of manumission. There follow two significant chapters involving the legal position of freedmen, the careers open to them, the success of freedmen in attaining their ambitions, and their contributions to the Roman social order. The remaining four chapters are neither as strong nor as substantial as the two chapters dealing with the legal position and careers of freedmen. The book is rounded out with eight appendixes, a general bibliography, and two indexes. Since the author treats the functions of freedmen in a variety of categories, there is some repetition: for example, several of Cicero's freedmen constantly reappear throughout the book. This kind of repetition may not enhance the reader's interest, but it does emphasize the points of the author's thesis.

Mrs. Treggiari has argued that Roman freedmen accepted with relative ease their lot in life; that the institution of slavery was not necessarily a dead end for those it encompassed; that freedmen as individuals, not as a class, had open to them a number of opportunities for improving their financial, though not their legal, position; that what humanity was exercised toward freedmen stemmed primarily from the moral principle of *fides* rather than from law; and that, therefore, the relationship between the freedman and his patron was essential in determining the success achieved by the freedman; lastly, that the enlightened policies of Caesar and Augustus had done much to regularize the position of freedmen, allowing play for "their talents and energy . . . among the forces which shaped the political and social revolution" that took place in the transition from republic to principate.

*University of Cincinnati*

A. J. CHRISTOPHERSON

## Medieval

LATIN BOOKHANDS OF THE LATER MIDDLE AGES, 1100–1500. By S. Harrison Thomson. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. 132 plates. \$37.50.)

A work such as this has long been needed to fill the gap in the history of Latin palaeography in the later Middle Ages. Professor Thomson has selected 132 examples to illustrate the development of bookhands in France, Germany (Holy Roman Empire), Italy, Britain, and Iberia from 1100 to 1500. The plates are beautifully produced. Each manuscript is identified by library and catalogue number. There follows a brief note of its contents. When possible, localization and authorship are noted, together with references to other modern works that deal with the specific manuscript. Professor Thomson then proceeds to analyze the script of each example in terms that are clearly understandable to scholars who are not professional paleographers. These analyses constitute the real contribution that Professor Thomson has made, for taken together they form a history of bookhands in each region of Western Europe he has chosen to deal with and will be invaluable to other scholars. After each analysis, he has transcribed about twenty lines from each plate.

It may be cavilling to criticize this monumental result of forty years' labor, but a few points need to be made. Professor Thomson is quite right in modernizing the scribes' use of *u* and *v*. Why not also modernize the scribes' use of capitals? The treatment of personal names and place names is inconsistent. Sometimes they are left in Latin, sometimes translated into modern forms. Not all the place names are fully identified. It should also be noted that in two instances Professor Thomson differs in attribution from N. R. Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*: for No. 83 he gives Ramsey, but it is Thorney, Cambridgeshire, in Ker; for No. 85, Lincoln, but Merton, Surrey, in Ker. In No. 2, the author of the great *Histoire générale de Languedoc* by Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissète appears as P. Vaisetti. Something appears to have gone wrong in No. 87. According to both Ker and the British Museum catalogue, Royal 7.F.XII is a fifteenth-century manuscript containing writings of William of Ockham. The manuscript Professor Thomson describes is Royal 7.F.III. Surely the date ought to be 1191-2 instead of 1183: "anno tertio coronationis Regis Ricardi" (that is, September 3, 1191-September 2, 1192).

Emory University

G. P. CUTTINO

THE MONASTIC THEOLOGY OF AELRED OF RIEVAULX: AN EXPERIENTIAL THEOLOGY. By *Amédée Hallier OCSO*. Translated by *Columban Heaney OCSO*. With a special introduction by *Thomas Merton*. Translations from Aelred's works by *Hugh McCaffery OCSO*. [Cistercian Studies Series: Number 2.] (Spencer, Mass.: Cistercian Publications. 1969. Pp. xxxi, 178. \$7.50.)

AELRED, abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, virtually unknown fifty years ago, has been discussed since World War II more than any other medieval monk, save his contemporary St. Bernard of Clairvaux. His winning personality and his intellectual and emotional sensitivity, so unlike our image of a medieval Cistercian monk, have attracted historians of our day, and from his works and the biography by his disciple Walter Daniel, a vivid picture of his Rievaulx has been constructed. Cistercians and others have edited his writings and studied his thought, dwelling much upon his insistence on spiritual friendship as an important element of personal sanctification in the monastic life. The present work, originally entitled *Un éducateur monastique*, emphasizes by its new title the theological rather than the ascetical quality of Aelred's thought. It is a skillful weaving together of his doctrine on the monastic life, taken from a number of his writings. These are used without regard to the chronological order of their composition and so do not make clear any development there may have been in his thought. On the other hand, they show the various facets of his teaching that combine into a logical whole. Dom Hallier wrote his book, based upon a doctoral thesis of some twelve years ago, before the monastic life, along with much else, became the object of a hundred different schemes of reform. He was thus able to see Aelred as he really was, a man of unusually wide and humane, yet fully spiritual, views that brought his mind to bear on the monastic life. He appears as a traditionalist, accepting the monk's life as a lifelong formation of the soul from the image of sin into the image of God, with discipline, the liturgy, and community life as the means of effecting the conversion. Aelred had never passed through the schools; he went from the court of King David to the novitiate at Rievaulx, but he had read deeply in the Fathers, above all St. Gregory, the monk-pope, and St. Augustine. After Scripture, the *Confessions* was his favorite book. He provides a good example of what Dom Jean Leclercq has called "monastic," as opposed to "scholastic" theology. The translation is excellent.

Wimbledon

DAVID KNOWLES

## Modern Europe

THE MODERN SCHISM: THREE PATHS OF THE SECULAR. By *Martin E. Marty*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1969. Pp. 191. \$5.95.)

THE PAPAL IDEOLOGY OF SOCIAL REFORM: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, 1878-1967. By *Richard L. Camp*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1969. Pp. viii, 180. 32 gls.)

PROFESSOR Marty has given us a stimulating and provocative thesis about the secularization of Western society, and Professor Camp documents the effort of the papacy to counter the threat of such secularization. *The Modern Schism* limits itself to a time span of forty years from 1830 to 1870; *The Papal Ideology of Social Reform* begins its survey with Leo XIII (1878). *The Modern Schism* developed along three different and distinguishable paths: the "formal and unrelenting attack on gods and churches" that marked continental Europe; in England "gods and churches were increasingly ignored"; and in America they were transformed in a way that is called "controlled or ambiguous secularization." That these three different "paths to the secular" characterized European, English, and American life respectively is only roughly and generally true, but Marty summons interesting and, for the most part, convincing arguments for this schematization. It is of course possible, as he admits, that America is only now in the mid-twentieth century feeling at a retarded rate the influences that made more spectacular progress in Europe and England seventy-five or one hundred years earlier. Yet the role of the American churches in the peace movement, the struggle for racial justice and integration, and the attack on poverty does suggest something of a distinctive and different kind of attitude. By contrast the effort of the papacy, documented and evaluated by Professor Camp, will seem modest and tentative indeed, at least until the pontificate of John XXIII. Each pope's pronouncements (and Professor Camp limits his study to official doctrinal statements) are analyzed and related to contemporary historical developments and to the work of predecessors. The effect is illuminating, although, as the author admits, the chief impact of such teachings was felt in the activities of Catholic trade unions, Christian Democratic political parties, and, one might add, the less obvious work of local parish priests and laymen. The papal teachings themselves are subjected to a fairly rigorous and searching analysis, and the weaknesses are unfailingly pointed out. Leo XIII's obsessive concern about the inviolability and divine sanction attaching to private property, for example, is shown to be a serious distortion of the Thomistic teaching and, in any case, to be justified in *Rerum Novarum* on grounds that socialists had a relatively easy time demolishing thoroughly. Failure to discriminate between moderate and extreme left-wing socialism led with calamitous results to a papal blindness to the dangers of fascism in the years between the two world wars. John XXIII is flatly declared to be "the first pope fully to appreciate the possibilities of the modern economy and its institutions." One comes away from Professor Camp's study convinced that if the Church is to respond adequately to the challenge posed by the move toward secularity, there must be a far more rigorous and exacting discipline and training in the secular studies and the findings of secular scholarship than the papal pronouncements reveal. The papacy's record from Leo XIII through John XXIII gives the impression of a well-intentioned but fumbling amateur. That will not be enough to counter, let alone reverse, the path toward wholesale secularization that Professor Marty describes.

New York City

JOHN M. KRUMM



REVOLUTIONISTS IN LONDON: A STUDY OF FIVE UNORTHODOX SOCIALISTS. By *James W. Hulse*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 246. \$6.00.)

THE five unorthodox socialists of whom Professor James Hulse writes in his *Revolutionists in London* are the Russian Narodniks Stepniak and Kropotkin, who sought refuge in London against Tsarist persecution; William Morris and Bernard Shaw, one a medievalist out of his "due time," the other an Irishman "in exile"; and Eduard Bernstein, who preferred England to the repressions of a Bismarckian Germany. The author is a Russian specialist who has written on the formation of the Communist International, but while his ably written book certainly benefits from insights growing out of his understanding of Russian materials, he has not taken full advantage of the possibilities of comparison open to him.

Professor Hulse regards his five characters as both "oddities" and "men of integrity," as distinguished from the more orthodox socialist "men of power." They all shared, he argues, an antagonism to a statist, orthodox Marxism, and all had a decided leaning toward some variety of anarchism. This is the conventional view, of course, of Stepniak and Kropotkin, and it once was the general view of Morris before the E. P. Thompson biography; it is far from proven in the cases of Shaw's Fabianism or Bernstein's revisionism, though Hulse makes a better case for the former than for the latter. Hulse sees the terrorist Stepniak, the anarchist Kropotkin, and the radical Marxist Bernstein as being persuaded by their English experiences into accepting liberalism. Unfortunately, the London of the 1880's and 1890's, which he tells us proved so influential in these transformations, is blandly described as a refuge of liberty whose borders seem largely those of the British Museum; the complexities of the British political environment, for example, the militant socialist and trade union activities of the eighties, climaxed by the dock strike, which had an undoubted effect upon the early ideas of the Fabians and of Morris, are unexplored.

While it is certainly useful to join together studies of the careers and ideas of these five revolutionists, the author has avoided systematic comparison. Hulse's leading figures knew and admired each other, and he employs their observations upon each other's personalities and works as the means of unifying his essays. Since there is no concluding chapter, it falls to the reader to piece together the bits of comparative analysis strewn through the book. But reading the volume is, nonetheless, a stimulating experience, and the author is to be commended for attempting a difficult and, overall, a useful historical effort.

*State University of New York, Stony Brook*

BERNARD SEMMEL

LE PAIN ET LES ROSES: JALONS POUR UNE HISTOIRE DES SOCIALISMES. By *Annie Kriegel*. ["Collection Hier."] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. 255. 22 fr.)

ANNIE Kriegel has deservedly acquired a reputation as one of the leading writers on French socialist and labor history, as well as one of the most prolific. She is best known for her two-volume study *Aux origines du communisme français* (1964), which has been recently supplemented by a study on the "political ethnography" of the French Communist party since 1920, published the same year as the volume under review. One of her strengths is that she brings to her writing an intimate familiarity with socialist traditions, experience as a former *militante* herself, and an interest in new techniques of historical investigation, psychological and quantitative. Paying tribute

to such pioneer labor historians as Martin Saint-Léon, Maxime Leroy, Édouard Doleans, and others who began their careers before 1914, she properly calls attention to the relatively stagnant period between the wars in this area and the revival of historical writing on labor subjects after 1945. Her present volume consists of twelve separate essays treating various aspects of socialism, trade unionism, syndicalism, and communism and examining such subjects as nationalism and internationalism, war and peace, and revolution and reformism. The essays, all based on carefully documented research, convey some insightful conclusions on Proudhon and his relationship to syndicalism (closer, she asserts, than most of us would generally concede); Jaurès and his attitude toward national defense in the fateful days of August 1914; the pre-1914 German Social Democratic party as the "model party" of the Second International; the fratricidal hatreds that emerged after 1919 in the French Socialist party; and the vicissitudes of the French Communist party in the years 1920-39 as measured in changes in membership and in organization. Four of the longer essays have appeared in print earlier; the others are papers presented to various professional gatherings in recent years. Although a thread of continuity runs through the essays, the chapters are meant to be only "guideposts," as the subtitle indicates, for a general history of socialist thought and action. The intriguing "bread and roses" of the title subtly communicates the two facets of the working class story: the struggle for bread-and-butter gains (mirrored in movements as disparate as pre-1914 Russian economism, British trade unionism, and the American labor movement), and the struggle for a purer, more harmonious, and more just society to be secured through the mythic "revolution." On both facets, and on their interrelationship, Annie Kriegel's observations are pertinent and rewarding.

*Duke University*

JOEL COLTON

BETRAYAL FROM WITHIN: JOSEPH AVENOL, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1933-1940. By *James Barros*. [Written under the auspices of the Center of International Studies, Princeton University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 289. \$10.00.)

JOSEPH Avenol was the egocentric reactionary who made a lamentable job of being secretary-general of the League of Nations between 1933 and 1940, a period in which his predecessor, Sir Eric Drummond, turned in a comparable performance as British ambassador in Rome. Dr. Barros' study reveals Avenol seeking to placate Italy and banish Ethiopia in 1935-36, favoring Franco in Spain, averting his gaze from the Austrian and Czech episodes, and finally envisaging an association of European nations under the inspired leadership of Adolf Hitler. The secretary-general struggled in vain to make the League "nonpolitical," but it is interesting to note the foreshadowing of ECOSOC and similar UN bodies in this twilight period at Geneva. The book is not exhaustive in its sources (they do not include, for example, the Gilbert Murray or Hugh Wilson papers, nor did Dr. Barros interview Salvador de Madariaga, who still lives in Oxford), and it is not without inaccuracy (it was the Royal Navy and Fleet Air Arm, not the RAF, that bombarded the French at Oran). But the sorry details of Avenol's career are set out clearly and beyond dispute.

When it comes to interpretation, however, Dr. Barros appears to be muddled. On occasion he speculates: "one can only wonder" whether German aggression in the 1930's might have been restricted had Avenol energetically "prodded the British and French to maintain the status quo." In one place, however, he offers by implication an

affirmative answer (by 1938 Europe, "thanks in no small way to the Secretary-General's prior policies, was well on the way to war") that rests in part on that variety of pre-Ruskian domino theory that is so often and so easily assumed in connection with this period. And yet elsewhere he rightly admits that "it would be optimistic, if not myopic, to believe that Avenol could have changed the course of events . . . between 1933 and 1940."

The problem, of course, went far deeper than Avenol's policies and "betrayal from within." Drummond, too, as Dr. Barros rightly emphasizes, had inevitably been a "political" secretary-general, and he can be found trying to shift the Manchurian crisis from off the League's shoulders just as eagerly as Avenol was to do in later cases. Lord Cecil, one of the major architects of the League, was also floundering privately—in marked contrast to the later certainty of his memoirs—as to what could be done in the early days of the Far Eastern crisis. In other words, while Avenol was a most unhappy choice as secretary-general, his role has to be seen within the framework of the basic limitations on what the League could achieve, whatever the caliber of its officials or zeal of its supporters. The narrative of the Avenol years needs to be blended with the kind of reflections prompted by the work of, say, Inis Claude or E. H. Carr. In Professor Hinsley's words, the League failed "for the deeper reason that its basic conception is impracticable at any time." Without this kind of perspective, Dr. Barros' judgments—and the book as a whole—are unfortunately of limited value.

*University of Sussex*

CHRISTOPHER THORNE

ENDKAMPF AN DER DONAU 1944/45. By *Peter Gosztony*. (Vienna: Verlag Fritz Molden. 1969. Pp. 356.)

THE young, Hungarian-born director of the Schweizerischen Osteuropabibliothek Peter Gosztony, is an extraordinarily prolific writer of books and articles, mostly about the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and events in Eastern and Central Europe during World War II. The present work touches on the fall of Rumania and Bulgaria and ends with a brief review of the fighting in Austria, but the bulk of it is devoted to Hungary in the last two years of World War II.

The author has undertaken a formidable task, particularly in view of the almost total lack of Soviet documents. This shortcoming Gosztony has sought to overcome by exceptional diligence in his research into untapped material. In pursuit of this he traveled all over Europe and to the United States to interview survivors of the events he describes. He also studied countless diaries, notes, and reminiscences by people involved (not all of them key figures or part of the decision-making machinery in the opposing armies and states). Greatest attention is paid to Hungarian and German sources, less to English and French material.

This approach precludes the possibility of bringing to light new data of substance on the last years of the war, but the book does illumine side issues. The side issues that most interest Gosztony are Hitler's Danubian satellite regimes, especially the Hungarian fascists. He tries for the virtually impossible: to understand the frame of mind of the petty fascist leaders of the area, and for this he makes much use of the Hungarian fascists' published and unpublished papers.

The result is a book colorfully written, interesting, well illustrated, and generously supplied with maps. For specialists in the area it is well worth reading.

*Brooklyn College of the City University of New York*

BÉLA K. KIRÁLY

A LONG TIME BURNING: THE HISTORY OF LITERARY CENSORSHIP IN ENGLAND. By *Donald Thomas*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. xii, 546. \$12.50.)

In *A Long Time Burning* Donald Thomas explores the nature of literary censorship in England from the introduction of printing in the fifteenth century to the present. The author contends that censorship is based upon fear. All political censorship past and present arises from the censor's response to the question, "What are you afraid of?" Obscene or pornographic literature threatens society because it burlesques conventional values. What is considered pornographic varies from place to place and time to time as values themselves change. "The relevant question at any stage of human history is not 'Does censorship exist?' but rather, 'under what sort of censorship do we live now?'"

The history of literary censorship is a serious subject, but it does contain lighter moments, and Thomas deftly documents the amusing as well as the sober endeavors of a host of zealous custodians of the public morality. Thomas argues that there is a direct connection between the activities of censors and the increase of literacy. He perhaps overstates the case when he writes that "the country had reached the threshold of general literacy by the end of the eighteenth century," but he is certainly right in maintaining that the prospect of general literacy frightened many of the governing classes. Protecting the servant girl from seditious or corrupting literature has been a common defense of literary censors—it was used as late as 1960 in the Crown prosecution of the publishers of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*—but one wonders how many servant girls would have been likely to have read many of the works in question in any event. As Thomas points out, much pornographic literature is based upon the stylistic conventions of "good" literature. (Steven Marcus makes a similar point in *The Other Victorians*, a work curiously omitted from Thomas' bibliography.) Thomas is concerned with the motives of censors rather than the potential reading audience for suppressed literature.

The author concludes rather gloomily that if literary censorship is less strict now than in former years, it is perhaps as much a reflection of the diminished status of literature as proof of the increasing liberalism of governments. The technology of the twentieth century presents governments with the most effective of all means of silencing men—ignoring them.

The book includes an appendix of two hundred pages containing passages from suppressed works and excerpts of relevant legal opinions. As the dust jacket proclaims, many of the passages in the appendix are "bawdy, obscene, pornographic, or blasphemous," an admission that may serve to keep the book off some library shelves. Meanwhile, scholars may wander where servant girls fear to tread.

*University of Texas, Austin*

PATRICIA S. KRUPPA

THE RISE OF THE ENTREPRENEUR. By *J. W. Gough*. (New York: Schocken Books. 1969. Pp. 325. \$8.95.)

WHILE there is one reference in this book to Schumpeter's *The Theory of Economic Development*, the work was, or could have been, written without any regard to the theoretical or generalized examination of entrepreneurship over the past twenty-five years by Aitken, Cochran, Cole, Hagen, Harbison, Jenks, McClelland, Redlich, and others. The first chapter, "The Making of the Entrepreneur," offers a loose, general discussion that is the weakest part of the book. The definition of the entrepreneur that

emerges—an initiator of production or development who supplies or controls the capital involved, who has some technical knowledge, and who personally dominates the enterprise—is sensible (though it deliberately excludes the initiator of commercial undertakings and avoids Schumpeter's restriction of the term to innovators) but it does not have much to do with the rest of the book. The rise of the entrepreneur is taken for granted and is identified with the emergence of capitalism. Gough accepted a title suggested to him by his publisher, but, aside from the first chapter, the book is not really about the rise of the entrepreneur.

What Gough has written is a series of useful chapters on particular industries in England and Wales from about 1540 to 1640. His accounts of the cloth, coal, iron and steel, copper and brass, tin and lead, gold and silver, alum, salt and saltpeter, glass, and other miscellaneous industries and his two chapters on fen drainage and other developmental projects are based on the large number of articles and books (including two of his own) dealing with these subjects, an extensive literature to which he gives full acknowledgement in excellent notes. A consequence of this organization by industry is that the conceptual framework of the first chapter is largely irrelevant to the rest: the affairs of an entrepreneur of wide-ranging activity such as William Humfrey or George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, are split up and discussed in several chapters; the activities of a man like Giacomo Verzelini, the Venetian glassmaker, are not related to those of King Charles I, who "acted as . . . entrepreneur" in pinmaking; the rise of the entrepreneur in, say, the lead-mining industry (where there was entrepreneurship long before 1540) is not related to that in the alum industry (which did not exist in England in 1540). The book, then, is mostly a survey of English industry aimed at readers who will benefit from being reminded that the yeomen are "the landowning class immediately below the nobility and gentry," or of the distinction between a joint-stock and a regulated company; that is, students in British fifth and sixth forms and American undergraduates. Students will welcome a single volume that brings together the findings of numerous specialists. They may find that the mass of detail and the paucity and low level of generalization make some parts heavy going. There is an index of persons and an index of places: these are useless if one is looking for "copperas," "privy council," or "Mineral and Battery Company" (discussed in at least seven different places).

University of Oregon

R. G. LANG

BRITISH TRANSPORT: AN ECONOMIC SURVEY FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE TWENTIETH. By *H. J. Dyos* and *D. H. Aldcroft*. ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1969. Pp. 473. 72s.)

THE Martians in C. S. Lewis' *Out of the Silent Planet* were amused by the preoccupation of the inhabitants of Earth with moving heavy objects from one place to another. Different forms of transport do exercise a wide fascination, and the field of British transport history in particular abounds in minutely detailed antiquarian studies, ordinarily displaying more zeal than sense of proportion, greater factual accuracy than feeling for historical relevance.

Dyos and Aldcroft have summarized the findings of such specialized studies as they affect our understanding of British economic history since the seventeenth century. They end their story in 1939, but sometimes Whiggishly judge the policies of different undertakings according to the degree to which they accord with current economic practice. They thus regret the failure of railways in the interwar period to in-

vest in main-line electrification, of shipowners to convert to diesel propulsion, and of the Ministry of Transport to anticipate today's passion for motorways.

After describing the facilities for transport in pre-industrial Britain and the effect of their limitations on economic life, the authors describe subsequent improvements in the road network, the building of the elaborate system of canals, and the coming of the railways. The last four chapters deal with transport in the First World War, the impact of a changed technology and of new forms of competition on shipping and the railways after 1918, the development of motorized transport, and the economically irrational story of civil aviation down to 1939.

An extended bibliographical essay partly compensates for the absence of footnotes and ought to encourage further attempts to place transport history in the context of general history. For while Dyos' and Aldcroft's interpretations throughout are judicious and unexceptionable, they have generally confined themselves to synthesizing the findings of other scholars rather than re-examining the total subject from a novel standpoint. Economic history may not prove to be the only, or even the most useful framework for such a re-examination: an experiment with the techniques and concepts of the art historian might provide valuable insights.

Individual ships, locomotives, and motor cars have been grudgingly accepted as works of art, but historians have yet to deal with whole systems of transport as esthetic entities. Dyos, in accounting for the unduly rapid decline of canals in Victorian England, fruitfully suggests that psychological factors were at work: "The railways had in every sense a presence. Their very appearance quickly kindled a kind of awe and sense of poetry that seems to have been shared to some degree by people of every class: steam, speed, controlled power, new sounds, spontaneous movement—there was excitement here. . . ."

What needs to be attempted is an analysis of the nature of such poetry, such excitement, that will both account for the events in transport history that, perversely, make no economic sense whatever and perhaps even contribute to an understanding of what has been happening to the Western soul during and since the Industrial Revolution. Transport history awaits its Burckhardt and its Panofsky.

Vassar College

DONALD J. OLSEN

SIR JOHN BERKENHEAD, 1617-1679: A ROYALIST CAREER IN POLITICS AND POLEMICS. By *P. W. Thomas*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 298. \$7.75.)

WERE Dr. Thomas' book on Berkenhead to be judged solely as a "life and works," it would fare poorly, for the biography has a file-card laboriousness (indeed, the opening seems almost a parody of dissertation style), and the ascriptions (more than doubling the number of Berkenhead's newsbooks and pamphlets) are often made most cavalierly through questionable "stylistic resemblance and iteration of phrases." Such faults of style and zeal, however, are amply compensated for by Thomas' subtle and perceptive analyses not only of the individual works and of the *Zeitgeist* but, still more astonishingly, of the interaction of these two. The worth, even the brilliance, of the book lies here, not in the often plodding or tendentious "life and works" portions.

But surely there has been more than one book published since the deposit of this Oxford dissertation in 1962 that merits attention; surely some help could have come from Shaaber or Fraser (newsbooks and monopoly), from Case or Crane and Kaye (bibliography), from Nevo or Yale's edition of *Poems on Affairs of State* (political



verse), from Clifford or Morris (biography), from Ogg, Clark, or Davies (history), from Westfall or Haller (science and religion), from Holden (early anti-Puritan satire), from Vieth, Lord, or Erdman (ascription), from generic studies of satire, burlesque and parody, from studies of Dryden and of Milton, from . . . , from . . . , from . . . Thomas, without doubt, would counter with a "*Libera nos*," but such works are needed not merely to swell the bibliography but rather to fill in the background. They would make the "life" more vital; they would test the ascriptions against the common practice of the common muse.

To enter the gray land of seventeenth-century press and politics takes a brave man; to return takes a hardy one. Thomas has returned, giving us data on his diggings, claims to unrecorded plots, but, above all, analyses of the overall terrain that more than compensate for the procedural faults of the enterprise.

Columbia University

HOWARD H. SCHLESS

A MIRROR OF ENGLAND: ENGLISH PURITAN VIEWS OF FOREIGN NATIONS, 1618-1640. By *Martin Arthur Breslow*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXXIV.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xii, 177. \$5.50.)

THIS slender monograph proposes to construct a two-way mirror. The front mirror is supposed to reveal how the English Puritans reacted to Continental developments. The reverse mirror is supposed to disclose something of the Puritans in their milieu.

The outward view produces few surprises and mixed results. The chapters on Puritan attitudes toward Spain and Spanish Catholicism, the Palatinate, and Bohemia contain numerous details that help to fill in the general picture already familiar to students of the period. The chapter on France is more rewarding, for it demonstrates how ambivalent or confused the Puritans were about Louis XIII and the Huguenots. Another rewarding chapter is that on the Dutch, who, because of financial and religious concerns, evoked confused and contradictory sentiments. This complex problem deserves further study. A disappointing chapter is that on Sweden, or Gustavus Adolphus, who symbolized Sweden to the English Puritans. The extant evidence is scanty, but it does exist in greater quantity and quality than is revealed by this study. Mr. Breslow could have used the extensive materials from the Interregnum period.

The more valuable section of this volume is that of the reverse mirror. As the Puritan praised, criticized, and condemned, he said more about himself than he did about the Continent. Myopic and self-righteous, the Puritan saw even the "best reformed churches" as imperfect. For me, these pages made the monograph well worth the time, but they left me unsatisfied. W. M. Lamont's *William Prynne* (1963) called attention to Prynne's desire that Charles I become an Emperor Constantine, and Mr. Breslow argues that the Puritan saw Gustavus Adolphus as a Constantine. If the two authors are correct, and I think they are, there is room for further study of the Constantine complex. In conclusion, Mr. Breslow raises fully as many questions as he has answered. Let us hope that he will direct his talents toward answering some of those questions.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte

GEORGE R. ABERNATHY, JR.

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER. By Margaret A. Judson. [Haney Foundation Series, Number 7.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1969. Pp. 88. \$5.00.)

SCHOLARS have been attracted to Sir Henry Vane the Younger because of his advocacy of liberty of conscience, but at the same time they have been put off by his unusual mixture of ideas that suggest at their extremes both citizen and saint, rationalist and mystic, Leveller and Fifth Monarchist. In general, Miss Judson stresses the rationalist Leveller citizen rather than the mystical Fifth Monarchist saint, for Vane is one of "the many advocates of more democratic government in the age of Cromwell." She sees Vane's lifelong political concerns or "right principles" as consisting of the following: spiritual freedom from government control, government by consent of the people, the subordination of the executive to the "supreme judicature," and obedience to right government. And yet there is very strong evidence, some of which the author brings forward, to indicate that Vane believed that only the Elect or Saints of God—an elite, as Miss Judson calls them—should form the constituent assembly called for in *A Healing Question* (1656). "One is perplexed by all his stress upon a select group," she writes, "when all men are the children of God." Actually, in *The Retired Man's Meditations* (1655), Vane wrote that only the Elect "truly deserve the name of Sons or Children" of God. Miss Judson resolves her perplexity about Vane's use of the people, whether as a whole body or as an elite, by suggesting that he wanted political rule by the elite now, and, in a generation's time, by all of the people. But the "generation-work" Vane called for was to "use all lawful and righteous means . . . to make way for" Christ's Second Coming and the rule of the saints (*T.R.M.M.*). Miss Judson has clarified several of Vane's political ideas. Now we need to know more about his millennialism, which provided much of the framework for these ideas.

Indiana University

LEO F. SOLT

THE DESCENT ON ENGLAND: A STUDY OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688 AND ITS EUROPEAN BACKGROUND. By John Carswell. (New York: John Day Company. 1969. Pp. vii, 259. \$6.50.)

THIS pleasant little book provides a convenient summary of the events surrounding the English Revolution of 1688, a topic that attracts amateurs almost as much as does Mary, Queen of Scots. G. M. Trevelyan, for example, wrote a book on this topic in 1938, the paragon of a professional historian. Mr. Carswell is not a professional historian, but the undersecretary of state in the Department of Education and Science. He has written a number of parergona on historical topics, all of them pleasant. The difference between an amateur and a professional job is probably to be found in the depth and scope of the bibliography, and secondly in the nature of the interpretation. Thus Mr. Carswell has read some of the major printed sources and indeed some of the manuscripts, though by no means all of either class of material. What he has neglected are the monographs. Thus there is no reference to the excellent work of R. Wiebe, *Untersuchungen über die Hilfeleistung der deutschen Staaten für Wilhelm III von Oranien im Jahre 1688* (1939) nor, as it happens, to two works of my own. The partial use of sources includes neglect of two Dutch publications, the *Journal* of Constantijn Huygens the younger (1876-77) and the *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie Reine d'Angleterre* (1880). One might have thought that the opinions of the Princess of Orange were of some interest on this particular matter. For example, her statement

that William went to dethrone James II would seem to dispose of William's pious claims that he had nothing less in mind than the crown of England.

There is an appendix on the cost of the Descent. Here Mr. Carswell makes the Descent into a pearl of great price by taking the exchange rate to be 6.6 guilders to the pound. Since the actual rate was 11 guilders to the pound between 1688 and 1692, his estimates are almost twice as high as they should be.

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

STEPHEN B. BAXTER

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 534. \$9.50.)

THE past decade has seen the beginning of a revision of historians' attitudes respecting the Industrial Revolution. The pendulum of opinion is swinging away from scientific positivism and independent empirical technology and back to a recognition that science and technology were, as was asserted at the time, deliberately and fruitfully related. Among the persons most responsible for this revisionism are the economic historians A. E. Musson and Eric Robinson, whose articles, joint and separate, have provided much of the detail on technological development in eighteenth-century England essential to the new arguments.

These articles, spread among four different journals and a conference at Munich, have now been revised and collected, with five additional chapters, in a single volume, providing fifteen studies of *Science and Technology in the Industrial Revolution*. Ranging in subject from "The Derby Philosophical Society" to two new and important studies on "The Introduction of Chlorine Bleaching" and "Chemical Developments in Dyeing," this work provides an unrivalled wealth of information on British technological achievements and their scientific milieu. The most important chapter is probably still the classic "Science and Technology in the Late Eighteenth Century," first published in 1960 and here expanded to three times its original length. Summarizing the authors' demonstration that many of the scientists or natural philosophers of the period had industrial interests and many of the industrialists were interested in science, this chapter alone justifies the authors' insistence that the "traditional view of the Industrial Revolution as being almost entirely a product of uneducated empiricism" must be modified.

Yet this volume only begins that modification. It is lavish in contemporary quotations stating that eighteenth-century technologists were skilled in the sciences and applied them. It recounts, extensively, the role of provincial societies, itinerant lecturers, and provincial schools and academies in spreading scientific knowledge among practical men. It can no longer be doubted that the social milieu out of which technological developments came was a pervasively scientific one. One is almost compelled to say that, with all these connections between scientists and the engineer-inventor-manufacturer, there must have been application of science to technology.

But in the end, this essential point is not proved, for the major examples of such applications are merely asserted. Most hints of application, like those for William Henry and William Fairbairn, are intriguing but incomplete. Nor is the explanation adequate that technologists employed that systematic controlled experimentation that constituted the science of the period and still constitutes much of today's technology.

Perhaps it is because neither author is a historian of science or technology that this part of their argument is inadequately developed. Perhaps the deficiency lies also

in the nature of the work itself. More or less independent chapters written over a period of several years and then collected, without total revision, correction, or submergence into one another, cannot provide the necessary synthesis. One can be very grateful for this collection and still hope that its authors will provide, as no others are so clearly able to do, a definitive examination of the relation of science to technology, minus the repetition and some of the more purely business history, and with the superlative collection of footnotes rationalized and repeated in a bibliography.

*Case Western Reserve University*

ROBERT E. SCHOFIELD

SCOTTISH NATIONALISM. By *H. J. Hanham*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. 250. \$5.50.)

In his introduction to this account of Scottish nationalism since the eighteenth century, Professor Hanham boldly maintains that, despite the inroads of mid-Victorian prosperity, "popular nationalism was always a force to be reckoned with in Scotland." After some excuses for the poor showings nationalists have usually made in elections, he notes three bursts of nationalist fervor in the twentieth century (around 1930, around 1950, and since 1964) and comments, "Nobody can say for sure just why the wind seemed to drop and the first two nationalist revivals to lose their impetus. . . ." This statement is symptomatic of the author's general tendency to overlook a central fact in the history of modern Scotland—its successful integration into a United Kingdom. What needs to be explained is not the loss of impetus behind the occasional nationalist revivals, but the fact that these revivals have taken place at all.

Hanham makes some contradictory efforts at economic explanation, suggesting at one point that Scots are coming to doubt the advantages of English economic domination and arguing at another that Scottish opinion "for the most part" accepts growing anglicization of the economy. Most of the book is devoted to chronicling the successive ways in which patriotic sentiments have been expressed in ideology and organization, on the apparent assumption that a latent nationalism was ready to blossom forth when conditions were right. The evidence presented does not dispel my own impression that by comparison with the nationalism of Ireland, for example, Scottish popular nationalism has been a rather pallid affair: a great deal of gushing about Wallace and Bruce, a willingness to report Home Rule leanings to the pollsters, and an occasional caper such as the capture of the Stone of Scone. Of course, the success of the Scottish National Party in the Wilson era may prove to be a true departure from past form. I wonder, however, if it is really the fruition of those decades of nationalist propaganda that the book recounts. The fact, cited by Hanham, that SNP support seems to be much heavier among younger voters than among their elders suggests that, like so much in the contemporary world, this new phenomenon may have its roots in generational conflict.

A number of individual elements in the book are quite valuable. The author's picture of Scottish society in his opening chapter is perceptive, and his account of the development of the Scottish administration meets a significant need. His treatment of "Home Rule All Round" is a useful contribution to the study of the federal ideas that emerged out of attempts to solve the Irish question. If the author had started from an understanding of the causes of Scotland's assimilation—perhaps based on Karl Deutsch's interpretation in *Nationalism and Social Communication*—he might have made the entire book as significant as these separate parts.

*Carnegie-Mellon University*

DAVID W. MILLER

PRELATES AND PEOPLE: ECCLESIASTICAL SOCIAL THOUGHT IN ENGLAND, 1783-1852. By R. A. Soloway. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1969. Pp. 464. \$12.50.)

PROFESSOR Soloway investigates "the responses of the episcopal leadership of the Church in England and Wales to the transformation of the society to which they ministered." In the first half of the book he reports and discusses what bishops said about revolution in France and the threat of it at home, about the relief of poverty, about conditions of work in factories and mines and conditions of life in workers' homes, and about Chartism and socialism. He goes on to study efforts to bring agencies of established religion more effectively to bear on the changing society: building churches, devising means of filling them, and opening church schools whose purpose was "educating the children of the laboring poor away from both dissatisfaction with their station in life as well as from Methodism, Dissent, hostility, or indifference." In outline the story is a familiar one, and so is the fairly negative conclusion: "Perhaps a little less condescendingly and sincerely troubled by the disaffection of the laboring classes, a new generation of bishops earnestly and enthusiastically set about trying to create a national Church more representative of all the people. Given the nature of their Church, and the structure of their society, as the census of 1851 suggested, the prognosis was not encouraging." The author's extensive reading of charges, sermons, pamphlets, letters, and other materials does not lead him to dispute the findings of W. L. Mathieson, G. F. A. Best, Olive Brose, and other students whose work he acknowledges amply.

The novelty is that he is examining the minds of bishops—104 of them, whom he groups for convenience and with profit into four overlapping generations: those installed before 1783, from 1783 to 1812, from 1812 to 1830, and from 1830 to 1852. If a talent for social analysis had been high among the qualities that a prime minister looked for when deciding which of his clergy to enthrone, the episcopal thoughts available for Professor Soloway's patient exposition might have been more vivid or profound. As it is, he is dealing often with mere clerical echoes of attitudes that are themselves so well known that a bishop's adherence to one or another of them could be indicated at less generous length. But the approach does provide rewards, such as a fascinating account of millenarian beliefs among bishops in the 1790's, a useful survey of the work done by J. B. Sumner (Bishop of Chester and then Archbishop of Canterbury) to make the arguments of Malthus intelligible and acceptable to the clergy at large, and a demonstration that some bishops in the 1830's knew very well, long before any national census of worship told them so, that the working classes of manufacturing districts were for the most part beyond the reach of religious institutions.

The author's own sympathies and hostilities are made candidly plain. His manner when introducing a bishop will not be to the taste of readers who like to have at least the illusion of making up their own minds about the characters they meet in history books. ("It was clear, as the greedy, pluralistic, nepotistic, endlessly place-seeking, aristocratic Bishop of Bristol, George Pelham, confidently exclaimed . . ."). The language in which he renders his bishops is sometimes brutally anachronistic: Richard Watson of Llandaff, for example, might wince to hear himself called a maverick and to learn that he was troubled by Rousseau's "de-emphasis" of individual responsibility. Eyebrows would surely be raised along the whole bench by the use of "gambit" where "gamut" is meant.

The work contains one interesting uncertainty of argument. At some points Professor Soloway writes as if once upon a time, before 1800, poor people in towns normally attended worship and felt at home in the Church of England. Elsewhere he declares:

"The revived Church in the nineteenth century had not lost the working classes; it never had them." This uncertainty Professor Soloway takes over from the writers on whose work he builds so modestly and carefully, and it will remain until somebody gives us solid information about religious practice in England before the Industrial Revolution.

*University of Papua and New Guinea*

K. S. INGLIS

THE ENGLISH RANKE: JOHN LINGARD. By *Donald F. Shea*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1969. Pp. 108. \$4.50.)

ONE should not be put off by the title of this monograph. Professor Shea does not really mean to imply that John Lingard was as great or as influential as Leopold von Ranke. What he does maintain is that Lingard was writing his *History of England* on the basis of the critical use of original sources a decade or so before Ranke published his first book. As in the case of Ranke, his first motive for studying history was religious apologetics, but he believed that the facts must be ascertained by rigorous research and set forth without bias for or against any party or creed. In these respects, Lingard may be called "the English Ranke," the founder of scientific history in England.

Shea studies Lingard's motives, methods, and relations with his contemporaries. His rich documentation includes over two hundred unpublished letters. He does not conceal Lingard's defects of style and organization, but constantly claims for him a higher place in the development of historical writing than he has been given. He shows that Lingard suffered from being a transitional figure both as a Catholic and as a historian. He aided the Catholic cause by writing history that was read even by Protestants. As a scholar he reached forward to the methods of modern research. But his mental set was that of the eighteenth century—before the Romantic revival, before Emancipation, and before the "Second Spring" enjoyed by Catholicism in the nineteenth century. So he was superseded by Green and others. Yet he had set a new standard in the writing of English history and deserves high praise for having done so. Professor Shea has done a worthwhile job carefully and clearly, though without much grace of style.

*Barnard College*

THOMAS P. PEARDON

MARIA EDGEWORTH AND THE PUBLIC SCENE: INTELLECT, FINE FEELING AND LANDLORDISM IN THE AGE OF REFORM. By *Michael Hurst*. (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1969. Pp. 206. \$7.95.)

IN his latest book Dr. Hurst has built a historical framework to house a new collection of Edgeworth papers that cover the period from 1817 to Maria's death in 1849. The author has explicitly refrained from writing a history of Ireland for these years, and his avowed goal is "to pinpoint many of the problems of those times, not only from a particular United Kingdom angle, but from a general one relevant to a wider context then and now." Because his pinpointing operation begins around 1820, this work omits the formative and creative years of Anglo-Ireland's sublime novelist. The literary side of Maria's life is also left in darkness. But it would be wrong to assume that a book on Maria's later years, which represented neither a history of Ireland nor biography nor literary criticism, was in danger of falling between three stools. There are, in fact, two stools in this book, one firmly occupied by Maria and the other by Dr. Michael Hurst, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford.



Maria emerges from these pages as a woman of pronounced ideals and prejudices, determined to uphold the "rights" of her class in Ireland but not unaware that property also had its duties. Although a devotee of the "law and order" school, she carried on her father's ecumenical and reformist work, and her humane feelings towards the Edgeworthstown tenantry were as genuine as her fears lest the priests and demagogues of Ireland, especially O'Connell, "the Liberator," goad the peasantry into rebellion and eventual expropriation of the "alien" landlords. Maria writes about Irish politics, landlord-tenant relations, and Anglo-Irish relations with all the verve of an accomplished and opinionated novelist. During these years she became not only increasingly politicized but ever more conservative. Too intelligent to be a mere reactionary, she nevertheless lost much of her Whiggish veneer through the abrasive effects of the tithes war, tenant protests against tolls and customs, and O'Connell's campaign to repeal the Act of Union. But her resolve not to punish tenants for waywardness at election time and her attentiveness to their needs in times of distress mark her as a pleasing contrast to the Lord Clonbrons of her day.

Opposite Maria sits Dr. Hurst, resolved to comment on Maria's commentary at every turn. It is often hard to tell where the paraphrase of an Edgeworth manuscript ends and editorial pronouncements begin. The danger of confusing the roles and "fine feelings" of protagonist and author is most apparent when both use such loaded terms as "mob" and "Paddy." When, for example, Dr. Hurst writes: "None of Paddy's little ways, above all his weakness for the Life of Riley had escaped her eagle eye," one wonders who subscribes to the notion of Paddy's Life of Riley. The significance of Maria's belief in Paddy is never discussed.

The framework constructed for the Edgeworth papers would inspire more confidence had Dr. Hurst explored the primary sources necessary for a serious study of the Irish "public scene." Instead of culling newspapers, pamphlets, parliamentary reports, and other manuscript collections, he relies on such a dated secondary source as R. Barry O'Brien's *Two Centuries of Irish History* (incorrectly attributed to James Bryce, who wrote the Introduction), which was first published in 1888. The result is a tendency to reduce Irish society into an undifferentiated mass of peasants on the one hand and a group of avaricious landlords on the other, with no allowance made for the many gradations and categories between the extremes. Dr. Hurst's portrait of Maria, moreover, contains some puzzling inconsistencies. At one moment she is the eighteenth-century rationalist, rejecting "the path of unreflecting enthusiasm," and at the next she succumbs to her enthusiasms. At the outset she is described as "an acute and penetrating" observer, but later on she is reproved for being "Canute-like" and "simple-minded." Eventually, she is found guilty of having a "picture of the Irish agrarian scene . . . ridiculously weighted in favour of her class."

To such stern judgments Dr. Hurst adds his own peculiar brand of "relevance." For better or worse, Maria is compared with "the liberal 'White'" in both black and non-black countries of the present day. One of her outbursts against some tenants who voted for Repeal candidates in 1832 is characterized as "the cry that in more modern times has led to Fascism." Throughout the book Maria is compared with Louisa M. Alcott, James Mill, J. C. Smuts, Albert Schweitzer, and twentieth-century "anti-leftists." The mind boggles. Last but not least, there is an epilogue which attempts to link Maria's Ireland with that of today. For sheer inventiveness, Dr. Hurst's image of Ireland in 1969 deserves to rank alongside that of Mr. Broadbent in *John Bull's Other Island*.

University of California, Berkeley

L. P. CURTIS, JR.

## SOLDIER-SURGEON: THE CRIMEAN WAR LETTERS OF DR. DOUGLAS

A. REID, 1855-1856. Edited by *Joseph O. Baylen* and *Alan Conway*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1968. Pp. v, 158. \$5.25.)

HISTORY has many monuments testifying to man's inhumanity to man. Of those raised in nineteenth-century England, few can match in quality the meaningless brutality and human waste of the Crimean War. The dispatches of William Howard Russell to the London *Times* and the reports of four special Parliamentary investigating committees long ago revealed the ineptitude and stupidity of the civilian and military leaders who directed that war. The letters of Dr. Douglas A. Reid add the testimony of a surgeon who fought in the Crimea to the already voluminous historical record.

Douglas A. Reid studied medicine at King's College, London, and the University of Edinburgh. In the fall of 1854, several months after his graduation from Edinburgh, Reid joined the army as an acting assistant surgeon. In January of 1855 he was sent to the Crimea and served in the combat zone until the end of the war. The letters that comprise this volume were sent home weekly by Reid to his family in England during the course of the campaign. Here in brief compass is the war as seen through the eyes of a young, inexperienced surgeon: the constant struggle against the cold and mud during the winter, and the filth, flies, and heat in the summer; the fear before battle; the daily rumors, which displace news; the small pleasures of private picnics and dinners; the amputations performed in filthy trenches; and the constant, almost overwhelming presence of cholera, typhoid, malaria, and ophthalmia among the troops. It is important to have this latter accounting. Nicolai Ivanoff Pirogoff, the *doyen* of nineteenth-century Russian surgery, once defined war as an epidemic of trauma. War is not only trauma, it is also the nucleus for an environment that permits disease to flourish. It is ironic that ultimately disease becomes the most democratic aspect of any war, for bacteria and viruses choose their victims with a fierce impartiality and certainly without regard to rank or status. Lord Raglan, the Commander of the British Army, was among the thousands—officers and men—who succumbed to cholera during the Crimean campaign.

Although in their introduction the editors characterize Dr. Reid as an able surgeon, there is little or no evidence to warrant such a judgment. At best the letters reveal a priggish, shallow young man possessed of attitudes and beliefs that do little credit to his profession. Indeed, it is a surprise to discover that in later life Reid worked hard in the cause of better housing and sanitation. Reid's letters add little substance to our understanding of the development of military surgery, or of the overriding problems of medical administration and hospital reform during the Crimean war. It is of interest that a year after John Snow published his classic paper advancing the view that cholera was disseminated by something in the fecal discharges of patients, Reid still spoke in his letters of miasma as a cause of the disease.

Professors Baylen and Conway have written informative introductions to Reid's letters and supplied excellent notes to place them in perspective. One wonders, however, why they have chosen to celebrate this small voice.

*University of Cincinnati*

SAUL BENISON

DISESTABLISHMENT IN IRELAND AND WALES. By *P. M. H. Bell*. [Church Historical Series, Number 90.] (London: S.P.C.K. 1969. Pp. viii, 392. 95s.)

MR. Bell's book is a well-written and well-documented history of the events that led to the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland and Wales and has the

additional advantage of being very timely. Its publication in 1969 coincided with the centennial anniversary of the Irish Church Act and anticipates the fiftieth anniversary of the Welsh Act. Although the latter measure was signed into law in 1914 almost simultaneously with the beginning of World War I, it was accompanied by a suspensory act, providing that it should not go into effect until after the war. Thus it was not until 1920 that the four Welsh dioceses were formally severed from both the Church of England and the state.

The first chapter of the book is a lucid treatment of what is involved in the principle of the establishment of religion, while the remainder of Bell's work is rather unevenly divided between the events in Ireland and Wales. That he directs the major part of his attention to the Irish question is perhaps justifiable for several reasons. First of all, the Irish Act was the first major breach in the walls of the Anglican Establishment. Secondly, the number of people and the endowments involved in Ireland were much greater than in Wales. And thirdly, while there has been no recent reinterpretation of the problem of Irish disestablishment, such is not the case for Wales. Not since 1929 when Anna L. Evans published her account of Irish disestablishment has anything significant appeared on the subject. Bell's treatment of this aspect of the problem goes considerably beyond hers and is in all respects a notable contribution.

His work on Welsh disestablishment reveals equally careful research and is very ably presented, but he has little if anything new to tell us about it. The most comprehensive treatment of the subject so far can be found in Kenneth O. Morgan's book, *Wales in British Politics, 1868-1922* (1963), which he has summarized in *Freedom or Sacrilege? A History of the Campaign for Welsh Disestablishment* (1965).

Although Bell's account is objective and correct in detail, a somewhat more penetrating perspective might have been obtained by a wider use of source materials, such as the reports of (Anglican) Church congresses, the denominational yearbooks of Non-conformity, and census returns, to name a few. It would be almost impossible to examine all the polemical pamphlet material that exists on the subject and that rehearses, often very tediously, the arguments for and against disestablishment. It is to Bell's credit that he has obviously read widely among these pamphlets and has very capably analyzed them for us. Those interested in Anglican church-state relationships will find these two studies of the problem, as it existed on the "Celtic fringe," to be most worthwhile.

State University of New York, Oswego

WILLIAM B. GEORGE

THE FIRST BRITISH WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT, 1897. By David G. Hanes. [Yale College Series.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. 124. \$5.00.)

THIS brief study began as an undergraduate dissertation and, with reluctance, I must say that it suffers from the limitations of its origin. With reluctance, because Mr. Hanes writes well, grasps the main issues, and has used intelligently the relevant Home Office files. He gives a lucid exposition of the problems arising from the common-law doctrines of vicarious liability and common employment, and of the attempts to overcome them by statute, through the Employers Liability Act of 1880, the abortive bill of 1893, and finally through Chamberlain's Act of 1897. He rehearses fluently the arguments for and against the Liberal proposals and rightly emphasises the originality of Chamberlain's solution. What he fails to do is to set this legislation in its wider context. A study such as this ought to illuminate a number of important questions: the

role of the civil servant in legislation; the relations of interest groups to government and party; and the general debate on social welfare and social security. Mr. Hanes concentrates on the legislative protagonists and the existence of a departmental view is only hinted at. The motives and attitudes of Asquith and Chamberlain are somewhat cursorily examined, but one would not know from Mr. Hanes's account that the 1880's and 1890's witnessed a prolonged enquiry and debate into the social problems of industrial society. Again, his account of the political scene is superficial and derived from secondary sources that have been largely superseded. More disappointing still is his failure to look behind the arguments advanced in Parliament on behalf of the employers and the trade unions. This is especially apparent in his discussion of the controversy over the clause allowing employees to contract out of the Employers Liability Act. Mr. Hanes appears to take at face value the protestations of benevolence made in Parliament on behalf of the employers. If he had taken the elementary precaution of consulting the histories of the unions principally concerned (the miners and railwaymen), he would have seen that the union leaders had good reason to suspect that the real intention was to weaken the power of independent unions and to avoid responsibility for industrial accidents. All in all, Mr. Hanes's focus is too narrow to allow him to explore the ramifications and realities of a promising subject.

*Edinburgh, Scotland*

J. P. CORNFORD

IMPERIAL SUNSET. Volume I, BRITAIN'S LIBERAL EMPIRE, 1897-1921. By Max Beloff. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xii, 387. \$8.95.)

PROFESSOR Beloff's discussion of Britain's "Liberal Empire" from Victoria's Diamond Jubilee to the formation of the Irish Free State—the first volume of his *Imperial Sunset*—while not designed as a definitive effort, is an admirable contribution to modern English political history. This fact must be stressed because the author, in a modest disclaimer, assures us that his decision to explore only the "antecedents" of "the state of mind" that led the Tory government to seek to join the Common Market makes of his work an essay rather than history. But this essay emerges as political history, as traditionally pursued, and is a good example of both the virtues and the difficulties of the genre.

No one will be surprised to discover that Beloff, the Gladstone Professor of Government at Oxford and the author of a number of valuable studies in history and international affairs, has made excellent use not only of the monographic literature but of caches of personal papers, and in so doing has very considerably advanced our understanding of the period. Given his sources, and most probably his predilections, however, questions of politics and international relations virtually monopolize his attention. Economic questions, for example, which some might suggest were the critical ones in his story, are not explored. Indeed, it might be argued that, given his theme, he would have been better served if he had written a more partial, and, therefore, less acceptable history by conventional standards, if his work were more of the essay, focusing, in his own words of intention, "upon those aspects of the preceding decades that appear most relevant in respect of the debate" of the Macmillan years.

Certainly, given the fullness of the fare, it is greedy to cavil. Yet, Beloff's neglect of international economics, for instance, tends to make his discussion of the "special relationship" with the United States less than fully convincing. One might question, in the light of Beloff's theme and intention, whether, given the subsequent rise to power of the Labour Party and its role as principal opponent of the Macmillan bid, more might

not have been done with socialist economics and socialist views of external policy: a greater concern, for example, with working-class protectionism, with J. A. Hobson and the Union of Democratic Control, and with the views concerning foreign affairs of such younger Fabians as the *New Statesman's* editor, Clifford Sharp, a special friend of Asquith's, would have added to the usefulness of the volume. But certain of these questions will, no doubt, receive greater attention in the next volume, to which historians may look forward with interest.

State University of New York, Stony Brook

BERNARD SEMMEL

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND THE TARIFF REFORM CAMPAIGN. In two volumes. By *Julian Amery*. [The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, Volumes V, 1901–1903, and VI, 1903–1968.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 448; viii, 451–1146. \$27.50 the set.)

THE ADMINISTRATION OF IMPERIALISM: JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE. By *Robert V. Kubicek*. [Duke University Commonwealth Studies Center, Publication Number 37.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 192. \$6.50.)

At last the life of Chamberlain is complete; three volumes by Garvin cover the years 1836 to 1900, and three more volumes by Julian Amery take the story down to Chamberlain's death in 1914, with an epilogue tracing his influence down to the present day. And, at last, there is an index.

It is a pleasure to see one of the great Victorian biographies brought to an end—will Lord Salisbury ever be finished?—and the job has been done competently, though in a way that was more appropriate a generation or two ago. When Garvin published his volumes in the early 1930's, imperial preference had just gained a great success at the Ottawa Conference of 1932; perhaps there was at the time a large popular audience willing to read long extracts from reports of Chamberlain's speeches. Amery has written his volumes on the same principles, though on an even larger scale, but by now it is unlikely that anyone except a professional historian would want to read a six-volume life of Chamberlain (though there is clearly a market for large one-volume lives of statesmen); and professional historians are not going to be grateful for long extracts from speeches, even equipped with Amery's commentary, because they usually have to read the original reports in any case. Amery clearly believes that patriotic Englishmen should mark and learn these speeches. The trouble is that he prints them at such length that, even in a book of a thousand pages, he leaves out a fair amount that professional historians would like to know.

There is very little attempt to assess the economic implications of Chamberlain's tariff reform proposals, not much attempt to assess reaction to the self-governing colonies, and very little study of the implications of election results. The 1906 election looks like a decisive test for Chamberlain's program and a decisive rejection of it; Amery says that this was not the case, and that the election was decided on other issues. Maybe he is right, but an author so generous with his space in other directions could spare a few pages to discuss the point in detail. Nor is much said about campaign funds; when we read about a temporary building, put up just for one meeting at a cost of £4,000, we can see that the tariff reform movement was well financed, but Amery says relatively little about the sources of the money. Speeches apart, a great deal of space is devoted to the hidden struggle between Balfour and Chamberlain. Amery does not add much to the explanation of the five resignations from the cabinet given in

A. M. Gollin's *Balfour's Burden* (1965), though he is as lavish with pro-Chamberlain adjectives as Gollin was with pro-Balfour adjectives. Chamberlain was of course working desperately hard in this final period of his political life, and Amery does occasionally show that he was suffering from the strain.

Professor Kubicek's much smaller book deals with the period of Chamberlain's life immediately preceding the tariff struggle, when he was working almost equally hard. Mr. Kubicek does not subscribe to the view of Chamberlain as a heaven-sent secretary for the colonies, and explains how it was that work fell behind and the Colonial Office often lost touch with colonial opinion. He makes it quite clear why this happened: despite some increase in staff under Chamberlain, the Colonial Office had to guide or inspire or control fifty governments ruling 150,000,000 people with a London staff of 113. Kubicek's study of the inevitable failure is very instructive, but a little ungenerous: Chamberlain did not succeed in the superhuman task, but at least he made it look as though it was not impossible. His predecessors and successors never tried to make the machine work so hard; for instance, Kubicek might have included some reference to Ronald Hyan's *Elgin and Churchill at the Colonial Office* (1968), which shows the machine still handling important problems, but running at a distinctly less ambitious tempo than it had done under Chamberlain.

University of Toronto

TREVOR LLOYD

FROM THE DREADNOUGHT TO SCAPA FLOW: THE ROYAL NAVY IN THE FISHER ERA, 1904-1919. Volume IV, 1917: YEAR OF CRISIS. By *Arthur J. Marder*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xxiv, 364, 7 charts. \$8.75.)

WITH this volume Professor Marder's expanding series reaches the year of Britain's supreme peril and the Royal Navy's most probing test. The focus is, of course, on the antisubmarine campaign and the convoy system, but the book also discusses naval aviation, the role of the Grand Fleet and of the Dover Patrol, and the plans and personnel of the turbulent high command post at the Admiralty. Disaster was averted, but operational accomplishments are difficult to discern.

The virtues noted by reviewers of the previous volumes are as sparkling as ever. Marder writes well and crisply, even on somewhat technical matters; he places the relevant facts and figures at his readers' disposal and makes good use of a variety of primarily naval sources. Marder's account has become and will remain the standard one for all students of Britain's wartime naval policy, organization, personalities, and major engagements.

A limitation may be noted. The angle of vision is that of the Sea Lords and the major commands rather than of the government or unofficial observers and critics, either in 1917 or later. Though Marder's thorough account repeatedly confronts the reader with the naval hierarchy's continued narrowness of vision and perseverance in error, the author is reluctant to disassociate himself from the naval point of view.

Three substantive criticisms occur to me. One, the effect of the Grand Fleet's defensive policy on the practicability of the schemes for a naval offensive in the Baltic in 1917 is not adequately considered. Two, the author's dogged contention that the Admiralty's decision at the end of April 1917 to adopt a limited and experimental convoy system was not due to the pressure of the government is contradicted by the evidence he himself furnishes. Three, Marder does not note the effect on the Admiralty and on the Government of the fear, not of submarine warfare, but of the loss of



surface command of the English Channel. This is the true significance for British policy of the Channel surface engagements of April 1917. The relationships of this fear to the tragic decisions on the campaign in Flanders and to the passivity of the Grand Fleet are close. I hope I may be permitted a regret that my own earlier book on British wartime strategy apparently had no effect on Marder's thinking on this particular issue.

Criticisms such as these, however, can henceforth be discussed only in the context provided by Marder's book. To repeat, this is an excellent and much-needed work.

*State University of New York, Buffalo*

PAUL GUINN

RECOLLECTIONS OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN THE CAMEROONS  
AND NORTHERN NIGERIA 1921-1957: "BUT ALWAYS AS FRIENDS."

By *Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1969. Pp. xvii, 460. \$11.50.)

ONE of the last of the governors of Northern Nigeria adds in this volume to the increasingly detailed attempts to do justice to British administration in the interwar period and in the years leading up to independence. Sir Bryan began his career in the Cameroons, facing all the problems and responsibilities of maintaining law and order that made the career of a young cadet at once attractive and onerous. His account of day-to-day administration in the various districts to which he was posted on his move to Northern Nigeria provides insight into his own character and into the type of relationship that developed between the administrator and the authority exercised by the Emir and his officials under the system of indirect rule.

For the reader interested in the contemporary political development of the North, the latter half of the book will be of greatest interest since the author was intimately involved, first as lieutenant-governor and later as governor, with the operation of self-government in the North and in the constitutional crises that preceded independence. The story of the Kano riots of 1953 is a prelude to the more serious events of the late sixties, and the bitterness engendered at that time was reinforced over the next decade by the growing tensions of North-South political maneuverings.

Sir Bryan remains, of course, from first to last sympathetic with the Northerners he knew and respected. Like most Northern administrators he regrets, by implication at least, the passing of the colonial service, as did, in fact, many Northern traditional leaders. Both were afraid that the younger politicians would undermine the standards of administrative probity established under colonial rule, and both felt keenly their replacement in the central authority and in the region by the doubtful authority of the elected representatives. The Emirs and the British succeeded in controlling this vast territory by creating a curious form of mutual respect that could not be duplicated elsewhere in Nigeria, but something like it must be recreated between the rulers and the ruled if Nigeria is to have any real stability in the coming decade.

*Columbia University*

L. GRAY COWAN

IRELAND'S CIVIL WAR. By *Calton Younger*. (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company. 1969. Pp. xi, 534. \$10.00.)

Mr. Younger, despite his publisher's claim, has not written the definitive account of the Irish civil war (1922-23) between those who accepted and those who rejected the treaty that brought the Irish Free State into being. *Ireland's Civil War*, a lively nar-

rative with few *longueurs*, will be read with interest by the lay public. With such readers in mind the author has found it necessary to devote some two hundred out of five hundred pages to an account of events from the first Home Rule bill (1886) to the actual outbreak of civil war; as a consequence he has omitted the texts of such important documents as the various treaty drafts, agreements and proclamations, texts a professional historian must seek in Dorothy Macardle's *The Irish Republic* (1939). Better maps (the one provided is inadequate) and a list of the main pro- and anti-treaty groups are needed to unravel the tangled history of guerrilla fighting during the Anglo-Irish and civil wars.

Historians will find of greatest interest the extracts, appropriately footnoted, from British cabinet papers. They deserve more than the passing reference possible in this review (it should be said that they show a much greater toughness on the part of the British government than is generally acknowledged). It is to be regretted that accurate references are not given for the fascinating oral evidence gleaned from survivors of the conflicts.

Some errors should be corrected in any future edition. Despite the inclusion in the bibliography of C. D. Greaves's *The Life and Times of James Connolly* (1961), the author has gone woefully astray in giving Connolly's place and date of birth as Ulster and 1870 (instead of Edinburgh and 1868) and in stating that he was reared in Glasgow (*recte* Edinburgh). Had he fully understood the ancestral urges impelling Ulster unionists he would not have suggested that a "settled and sturdy government" in Dublin in February 1922 might have induced the North to accept inclusion in a thirty-two county dominion. To dismiss the seizure of creameries by workers in the same year as "stemming from avarice rather than politics" does nothing to illuminate an event deserving serious study.

To sum up, *Ireland's Civil War* is an honest effort to give a nonpartisan, yet sympathetic account of the participants in some of the most painful and controversial events in modern Irish history. It is not the final version, but it is likely to hold the field for some time to come.

Mount Allison University

JOHN W. BOYLE

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU. Volume I, THE QUEST (1712-1758). By Lester G. Crocker. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. x, 372. \$9.95.)

BECAUSE of the complex, contradictory nature of Rousseau's personality, none of the many existing biographies can claim to be so "definitive" as to discourage the writing of yet another. Each generation has tended to produce its own "Jean-Jacques." Although many previously doubtful questions of fact have now been answered by patient research, others still remain unresolved and, more important, the baffling contradictions of Rousseau's personality continue to defy precise explanation. The problem has undoubtedly been complicated by the influence of Rousseau's own intense and earnest effort to present an authentic portrait of himself in his voluminous personal writings, the avowed purpose of which was to recount the history of his "soul" and "secret feelings" rather than the mere events of his life. Rousseau's emotional involvement with his subject has rarely allowed his readers to preserve an attitude of impartiality, so that he himself has constantly become an object of love, hate, or pity.

In spite of these difficulties, a modern biographer has considerable advantages over his predecessors: he has at his disposal the excellent new edition of Rousseau's complete works being published by the Bibliothèque de la Pléiade and the first volumes of

R. A. Leigh's monumental new edition of the complete correspondence. Major studies of Rousseau as man and thinker, as well as recent interpretations of the French Enlightenment, have also eliminated many earlier misconceptions and, at the same time, added considerably to our knowledge of the contemporary background. Moreover, Professor Crocker himself is particularly well qualified to undertake a biography of Rousseau since he is already well known for two very substantial volumes on the philosophical ideas of the French eighteenth century, an important biography of Diderot, and other studies of the period, including several on Rousseau himself.

In view of all this, it is not surprising to find that this new book presents a reliable, well-documented account of the first part of Rousseau's life. Admittedly, the Rousseau who emerges from these pages is not a lovable or sympathetic character, for he is said to have indulged constantly in deliberate or unwitting deception and to have possessed a remarkable blindness to his own weaknesses. This unfavorable impression of Rousseau's character is due largely to Professor Crocker's use of the psychological and psychiatric method of explanation. Although he sometimes has recourse to psychoanalytic principles (for example, in his attribution of Rousseau's paranoid reactions to latent homosexuality), Professor Crocker eschews any narrowly Freudian approach in favor of a broader kind of psychological classification. In his opinion, Rousseau follows "the classic pattern of the obsessional personality," the aberrations of which are due in the first place to the child's deeply ambivalent feelings towards his parents. The subsequent pattern of Rousseau's emotional development was, therefore, already determined from his early years. Although Rousseau's capacity for acute self-analysis is not denied, it betrays "the acuteness of the intelligent, self-absorbed introspective neurotic" who is unable or unwilling to separate dreams from reality and whose account of his motives (especially when the demands of his ego are involved) is rarely trustworthy.

Professor Crocker's treatment of Rousseau's childhood is a good example of his method and approach. He gives a sound general picture of the Genevan republic and illuminating details of his family background, but, from the very first, Professor Crocker stresses Rousseau's deliberate falsifications and unwitting mistakes. He rightly points out that Jean-Jacques's father, Isaac Rousseau, far from being the idealized figure of the *Confessions*, was an irascible, unstable man, who must in many ways be held responsible for his son's later emotional difficulties. We are soon presented with a young Jean-Jacques who, suffering from a strong sense of insecurity and frustration, sought to escape from his unhappiness through fantasy and daydreaming. The Jean-Jacques who eventually fled from Geneva was, according to this account, a youth who lacked any true sense of personal identity, being inwardly divided by his feelings of insecurity and contradiction as well as by his often desperate need for love and esteem.

To assess the ultimate validity of Professor Crocker's approach—to decide, for instance, whether his psychological method gives enough importance to Rousseau's conscious search for personal values—we shall have to await the completion of the work. Meanwhile, whatever his reactions to the particular method of interpretation, the reader will find a full and fair-minded review of all the main episodes of this phase of Rousseau's work. In fact, both the general reader and the specialist will find something worth pondering in this vigorous and lively biography.

*University of Bristol*

RONALD GRIMSLEY

LA CAGOULE: 30 ANS DE COMLOTS. By *Philippe Bourdrel*. [Histoire du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1970. Pp. 282. 25 fr.)

THE Cagoule, that strange terrorist extreme Right-wing group or series of groups, which appeared in the declining years of the Third Republic, has always fascinated serious students of France in the 1930's. Born in the wreckage of the sixth of February, and receiving its baptism of fire in the bourgeois *grande peur* of the summer of 1936, the Cagoule (or, more particularly, the Comité Secret d'Action Révolutionnaire, the CSAR) was ready for a coup d'état by 1937. It had a doctrine, excellent arms, and a detailed plan for the seizure of power in Paris. It had infiltrated the command, the officer corps, and the less militant, older Rightist political organizations such as the Action Française, from which many Cagoulards originally came. It had established links with politicians hostile to the Popular Front, with powerful business interests, with numerous antirepublican factions in the bureaucracy, and with its comrades of the "White Internationale," Franco and Mussolini.

But at the critical moment—November 15–16, 1937, when it was mobilized for a *putsch*—the Cagoule was discovered and broken up by the authorities. To blame were violations of security and treason among the leadership, some of which was caused by the inevitable *femme fatale* of any good French conspiracy, in this case, a dazzling red-head of the Sûreté. Also at fault was an imprudent series of terrorist actions earlier in the year that had alerted the police: incitement to riot, assassinations, and bomb explosions. The Cagoule leaders were brought to a trial, which was interrupted by the war of 1939–1940; after the defeat, Pétain welcomed many of them to Vichy. Although it stood trial again in 1948, the Cagoule and its military affiliates reappeared in both Algeria and the métropole, where they played a dramatic role in the conflict between the army and the civil power after 1954. It was only in the despairing last hours of the OAS in 1962 that the now aging Cagoulards withdrew their support from the rebels and concluded that they had had "enough" of conspiracy.

This study by a Parisian journalist provides some interesting details concerning the Cagoule but no really significant new information. Although he interviewed many ex-Cagoulards, the author did not obtain access—with one minor exception—to the vast dossiers of the instructions for the 1938 and 1948 trials. The analysis also lacks historical depth and perspective. The author underestimates the gravity of the conspiracy and also makes the doubtful claim that the Cagoule could have seized but not retained power in 1937. The promise of the subtitle, "thirty years of conspiracy," is not fulfilled. The tantalizingly brief references to the similarities between the situations of the late 1930's, of 1958, and of 1968, are neither followed through nor synthesized. Although it contains no bibliography and only scanty footnotes, the book is useful because it brings together for the first time a mass of information previously scattered among a wide variety of press accounts, analyses, and memoirs. But it is not the definitive treatment of the Cagoule. A real historian, with the archives completely at his disposal, will have to write that.

Trinity College

PHILIP C. F. BANKWITZ

HANDBUCH DER BAYERISCHEN GESCHICHTE. Volume II, DAS ALTE BAYERN: DER TERRITORIALSTAAT VOM AUSGANG DES 12. JAHRHUNDERTS BIS ZUM AUSGANG DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS. Edited by *Max Spindler*. In collaboration with *Dieter Albrecht et al.* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. [1969.] Pp. xxxvi, 1180. DM 110.)

THE second volume of the *Manual of Bavarian History*, produced by a team of able

scholars under the direction of Professor Max Spindler of Munich, encompasses six eventful centuries from the establishment of the territorial principality by Otto von Wittelsbach in 1180 to the duchy's participation in the great European wars of the first half of the eighteenth century and the onset of the French Revolution. For students of German territorial history, these centuries constitute the most vital and suggestive period of Bavarian politics and society. It opens with the first of the Wittelsbach dukes who saw their realm through the process of political transformation, general in medieval Germany, in which Bavaria changed from a loose-jointed region governed by a nobility whose duke functioned as *primus inter pares*, to a tightly knit *Territorium* with established boundaries ruled by a territorial prince possessing and exercising full political sovereignty. During this process, Wittelsbach dukes became the greatest land-owners in their realm, while the nobility, deprived of its magnate leaders and merging into a more or less homogeneous class, took on the social and political role of an Estate. Ludwig IV was the first major beneficiary of these developments. Bavaria served as a base for his undertakings as German king and Holy Roman Emperor; conversely, his actions on the European political stage speeded his *Territorialpolitik* by enabling him to extend his lands and rationalize his government.

Because personal and dynastic impulses were far too deeply rooted to engender any thought of Bavaria as a "state," the territory split into no fewer than six lines after Ludwig's death. Only at the opening of the sixteenth century did a united duchy emerge under Albrecht IV of Munich, who issued Bavaria's first law of primogeniture in 1506. Although resisted and occasionally denied, the law succeeded in holding the duchy together. The struggles of the Protestant era helped solidify ducal authority. By taking a strong hand in ecclesiastical reform, the princes significantly extended their reach, while anti-Lutheranism at home was never allowed to disturb collaboration with Protestant powers where anti-Habsburg policy dictated this course of action. Nonetheless, Bavaria became a leading source of the Counter Reformation and a valued imperial ally in the Thirty Years' War. Maximilian I gathered the harvest of this policy, gaining the Palatine Electorate, building the administrative foundation of the future absolutist state, and securing his European position through alliance with Richelieu. Under Maximilian Bavaria reached the zenith of her early modern phase. Had his successors been his equals, Bavaria might have become a major European power, as did Prussia. But this was not to be. Neither Max Emmanuel's zealous competition for the Spanish crown nor Karl Albrecht's hopes for a portion of the Austrian succession bore results. Stretching their resources to the breaking point, these ambitious rulers clearly demonstrated the limitations beyond which the Bavarian state apparently could not be led. Neutral in the Seven Years' War and even in the so-called War of the Bavarian Succession of 1778-79, Bavaria reluctantly joined the second anti-French coalition of 1798, her troops having been placed under Austrian command.

The description of these historical developments takes up nearly 600 of the book's 1,100 pages. The account is admirably clear, and, despite its concision, maintains a leisurely narrative pace. Constant themes emerge clearly—above all Bavaria's ambivalent relationship to the Habsburgs and to France. Interpretations are offered cautiously with frequent reminders of the "still unsatisfactory state of scholarship." The *Forschungsstand* itself is demonstrated throughout by excellent indications of sources and literature, including general works and monographs on European and German, as well as on Bavarian, history. There are fine discussions also of new historiographical viewpoints, for example, on constitutional changes, periodization, the transformations of the nobility, and the dynamics of social history.

But the historical narrative is only a skeletal structure fleshed out with twenty substantial chapters on government and administration, social structure, church and religion, agriculture, crafts and commerce, education, intellectual life, literature, music and art—to name only the general categories into which a vast store of information is compressed. No brief review can begin to do justice to the wealth of judiciously sifted data offered here. Over a hundred pages on state and society, although going over much of the same ground as earlier chapters, bring together essential observations on the social classes of the territory, their institutions, legal position, and relations to one another and to the state in the person of the duke. A detailed description of the offices and procedures of local government is particularly rewarding. Two chapters on ecclesiastical affairs trace the complex associations of Church and state in an era of sweeping changes and—although giving Lutheran, Anabaptist, and ultraquist movements somewhat less than their due—recount at length the accomplishments of Catholic reform in parish and monastery. A brief chapter on agriculture clarifies the complicated web of personal and institutional relations operating among rural people; it describes procedures in grain and livestock raising that remained traditional until the imposition, in 1762, of a Commission for Territorial Economic Improvement through which the state sought to apply the achievements of natural science to agricultural production. Commercially, Bavaria made a natural transition from the proto-mercantilism of the late Middle Ages—in which the dukes monopolized salt extraction and marketing and brought most metal mining under their control—to Maximilian I's decisive reconstructionist intervention in trade and manufacture after the Thirty Years' War, in which Bavaria had suffered considerable destruction and disruption. Munich became the center of the duchy's *Manufakturen*, advancing to the point at which the capital city could begin to keep pace with the nearby emporia of Nuremberg and Augsburg.

In education and scholarship, decisive changes came with the introduction, first, of humanist techniques, which slowly but surely reshaped pedagogical thought and techniques in monastic schools and universities, then, more decisively, with the activities of the Jesuits who joined Ingolstadt in 1549. Four splendid chapters analyze shifting currents in intellectual organization and enterprise from the Franciscan school in Regensburg to Ingolstadt's role as the leading German Catholic university and to the foundation of new seminaries and academies—first under Tridentine influence, later in response to the secularizing motives of the Enlightenment. If Bavaria's contribution to literature was modest—apart from poetry and drama produced in the service of the Tridentine renewal—Bavarian architecture and sculpture count among the glories of late Gothic and, above all, Baroque art. From fourteenth-century city churches and altar tablets to Cuvilliés' interior styling of the Munich *Residenz*, Asam's church of St. Nepomuk, and Fischer's Ottobeuren, Bavaria's splendid secular and religious buildings and their adornments reflect the duchy's political eminence and cultural ties to the great centers of civilization in Italy and France. Tangible evidences of an integrated cultural vision—the mature Bavarian Baroque in architecture, sculpture, music, and the so-called minor arts of textiles, goldsmith's work, and porcelain making—are in their richness and proliferation among the wonders of Western civilization. Providing authoritative information and comment on all these and many other matters, the *Handbuch* is bound to remain for a long time the definitive work on Bavarian history in the late medieval and early modern periods.

Indiana University

GERALD STRAUSS



THE SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION, 1858-1871: IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS. By *Theodore S. Hamerow*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 433. \$12.50.)

IN this lucid and solidly constructed volume Theodore S. Hamerow pursues his interest in the economic and social framework of politics in mid-nineteenth-century Germany. His main purpose is to discover how public opinion and governmental policy were affected by the coming of industrialization, the shifting of population from village to city, the decline of handicraft production, the improvement of communications, and the realignment of social interests during the fifties and sixties. His treatment of these themes is often fresh and illuminating, especially on such matters as voting behavior, civic organizations, the press, education, the structure of political parties and movements, and the relation between class and reform. The social roots of conservatism and the legitimist-corporatist ideology associated with it are discussed with much knowledge and clarity. Documentation is abundant on almost all important points, and the author has made use of a large body of periodical and pamphlet literature in addition to official publications and other standard sources. He plans a two-volume treatment of which the present volume—topical and analytical in approach—is conceived as the social and ideological *Unterbau*, to be followed by a second in which the political story will be told against the background established by the first. While final judgment must await the completion of this program, it is not too soon to say that the present volume, useful in its own right, arouses hopes that the sequel will not be long delayed.

While most of Hamerow's conclusions are not startling, he has surely performed a service by showing exactly how narrow the "political class" was. He argues convincingly that "The decisive political struggles of the mid-century were waged by dominant minorities distrustful of the broad masses of the people and isolated from them. . . ." His discussion of popular education makes it clearer than it has ever been that the vaunted Prussian system of primary schools was not the marvel it seemed to many contemporaries: parsimoniously financed, it was barely able to teach basic literacy, and frequently not even that in rural areas. Newspapers and journals were priced beyond the reach of peasants and most wage earners; participation in political meetings was "limited and vacillating"; petitions collected few signatures; few voters went to the polls even in Prussia where the franchise was broadest and controversy most intense; and the voting statistics seem to bear out Hamerow's conclusion that "vocal public opinion was determined by between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 people." Poorly educated and ill-informed on the issues of the day, uninterested in matters not touching them directly, and convinced that nothing they might do could change things significantly, the rural and urban masses remained largely indifferent and inert during the constitutional struggle and were not even very much stirred by the extrusion of Austria from the German community or the consolidation of national unity under Prussia. Hamerow, indeed, goes so far as to write that "National unification was achieved not through but despite the popular will." While it will be difficult for some to follow him to this point, he does make it clear that Bismarck's program was carried through in the absence of positive majority support for it.

One might wish that more attention had been given to religion and the churches as opinion-making agencies. Some readers will probably also think that Hamerow gives the business classes credit for too much enlightenment and political dynamism, and that, like other academic writers on this period, he probably relies too heavily on the self-indulgent estimate that university pundits, journalists, and professional men had

of their own importance. Hamerow seems to change his mind between pages 182 and 221 on the question of whether the nobility was more than a landed caste: at first he stresses their functional role and public spirit, but later he emphasizes their "artless incomprehension [of] . . . the complexities of a new industrialism" and concludes that "Their way of thinking made it impossible for the conservatives to reach an accommodation with the masses of Central Europe."

Its easy yet sure-footed and economical style makes the book a pleasure to read. Nearly all the lengthy translations from the German are done with fidelity and grace; only very rarely does the Teutonic idiom show through. Though narrative impetus is lacking, the book manages to sustain interest. It deserves and will repay careful reading by all students of German history.

*Northern Illinois University*

RALPH H. BOWEN

DAS ZEITALTER DER GESELLSCHAFT: AUFSÄTZE ZUR POLITISCHEN SOZIALGESCHICHTE DER NEUZEIT. By *Gerhard Schulz*. (Munich: R. Piper & Co. 1969. Pp. 480. DM 24.)

THE historian who publishes his collected essays has a double responsibility to the reader. The collection should be unified by a theme adding up to more than a flashy title; furthermore, since this theme cannot be expected to be a compelling hypothesis spelled out explicitly in the text, each essay must constitute a readable unit in itself.

The volume before us fails on both counts. It contains an assortment of articles on a variety of subjects, such as the origins of bourgeois society, nineteenth-century imperialism, German social democracy, the origins of pressure groups in Germany since the start of industrialization, the economic problems of agriculture in the Eastern provinces of Prussia, the "National Club of 1919" in Berlin, the resistance against Hitler, and totalitarianism and nationalism. The central argument, expounded in a brief foreword, that the Age of Society has superseded the Age of the State, which in its time superseded the Age of the Church, adds up to a triviality—especially as the reader discovers that "society" is simply equated with "bourgeois society." The individual articles are not in fact essays; though learned, they are lifeless and ponderous and couched in an almost unreadable language of interminable sentences.

Two articles might be commented upon particularly. The relationship between pressure groups and political parties is a challenging area of study in the field of social history. The "concretization" (Karl Lamprecht) of political parties is an inescapable reality of modern history. Schulz traces it in the context of Germany. But should he not deal with the question of whether German parliamentarianism has sufficiently acknowledged the "quasi-corporatism" (Samuel Beer) of modern society to establish an effective balance between interest groups? The study of the conservative National Club of 1919 adds a great deal to our knowledge of German conservatism and neoconservatism after 1918. The National Club of 1919 was, like the related *Herrenklub*, a restorative association; it represented an aristocracy that was in intransigent opposition to the Weimar Republic and that deceived itself in expecting its interests to be recognized by National Socialism. In the light of this evidence, Heinrich von Gleichen's *Juniklub* emerges as a unique and rather ephemeral association, marked by the variety of its membership and by an initial openness to revolutionary events. In it there were, it should be emphasized, at least the tender beginnings of a republican conservatism. This conservatism, however, did not assert itself against the pressures of the restorative forces, which were stronger though exerted by a dying class.

*Smith College*

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

DIE DEUTSCHE POLITIK UND DIE JUDEN IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Egmont Zechlin*. With the collaboration of *Hans Joachim Bieber*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1969. Pp. viii, 592. DM 36.)

THE subject of this book is rare; it deals with German policy and the Jews during the *First World War*. The treatment is exhaustive, for it fills almost six hundred large pages anchored in heavy footnotes complete with references to documents, newspapers, and books. Nor does Zechlin cut corners; he leaves no major gaps and does not content himself with mere summation of other men's work. To write about German actions, Zechlin had to describe decisions that affected Germany itself, its occupied territories, and areas outside Germany's control. These are multiple histories, but his point is simple: from Napoleonic times through 1918, Germany pursued a gradual emancipation of Jewry as part of an effort to build a German nation-state. While there were obstacles, hesitations, exclusions, and reactions, the Jews were being accepted and absorbed in commerce, public offices, and especially the universities. The Jews in turn welcomed their reception enthusiastically, often paying for it in advance, as with mass conversions around 1800, voluntary army service in 1813, name changes in mid-century, and expressions of patriotism at all times. They spoke of the Jewish communities in the Slavic countries as "eastern Jews," while referring to the Jewish populations of England and France as "western Jews." Palestine was for most of them a remote "travel possibility." Zechlin almost embraces these prewar Jews and at one point apologizes for the very title of his book and his whole approach to them, as if to say that the juxtaposition of German and Jew is akin to speaking of German and Christian, German and Swabian.

When World War I broke out, the policy that had been followed for a century within Germany was applied in the eastern occupied regions. The Jews in the newly conquered territory were now being liberated and emancipated as part of a cautious attempt to foster the breakaway of Russian-dominated nations from Imperial Russian rule. In Poland, the Russian ukase barring Jews from executive positions in urban government was lifted, and Jews could become mayors for the first time. In Lithuania, which attained its independence in March 1918, Jews joined the cabinet. In the short-lived multinational Ukrainian Republic, they could establish a national council of their own. In defeated Rumania, the German-imposed peace treaty contained a clause allowing most, though not all, of the Rumanian Jews to become Rumanian citizens. Even Zionist aspirations were approved of, especially after the British entered Palestine.

Not all these moves were effected without ambivalence and contradictions. In the late nineteenth century, the emancipation had been accompanied by considerable anti-Semitism, and now strange episodes perpetuated that dark tradition. The Jews were being dismissed from the Polish militia as soon as it became a paid component of the German security system in the rear; the eastern border was closed to Jews in April 1918, after twenty to thirty thousand Jewish artisans had been imported by German industry, and in the German army a census of the Jews was ordered to ascertain the extent of their participation in the war. The count was apparently haphazard, and the results were not made public. Zechlin quotes with approval a Jewish source branding it a lie, but after his tantalizingly detailed account, he, too, withholds the statistics. One cannot help the feeling that the author may have been convinced that even in the Germany of today such incomplete, misleading data could fall into the wrong hands.

*University of Vermont*

RAUL HILBERG

LE REICH DEVANT L'OCCUPATION FRANCO-BELGE DE LA RUHR EN 1923. By *Jean-Claude Favez*. [Études et documents publiés par l'Institut d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève, Number 6.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1969. Pp. 406.)

THIS scholarly investigation of the internal situation in Germany preceding the 1923 occupation of the Ruhr places the Ruhr crisis in the context of the political and social problems that troubled the Weimar Republic. Favez argues that the Ruhr crisis, which assured the dominance of conservative forces in the internal political struggle in Germany, established the conditions that resulted in the ultimate success of National Socialism. The Ruhr occupation, by the tensions it imposed on the resources of the state, by the antagonisms it created among the people, by the weaknesses it revealed in the parliamentary regime, foreshadowed the later events that in ten years caused the death of the first German Republic.

The internal tensions generated before and during the crisis resulted in a defeat of the forces of the moderate Left and a strong swing to the conservative Right in Germany. Of the parties of the Left, only the Communists gained strength. Thus, after the occupation, the parliamentary forces in Germany faced a struggle against both a revitalized Communist party and a vastly strengthened Right.

At the same time, and perhaps of greater importance, the Ruhr crisis led to a consolidation of industrial power. Heavy industry acquired a dominance it had wanted since 1918, but had not theretofore achieved. The army also emerged greatly strengthened from the crisis. Charged with maintaining order, despite its repugnance for the regime, the army preserved the cohesion of the Reich and greatly reinforced its own position in the state. The Ruhr crisis thus became, after six years of struggle against the spirit of revolution, the occasion of major *revanche* for heavy industry, the army, and the Right. If the coalition of these forces had failed to hold in check the exterior enemy, it had achieved victory over its interior enemies—the Socialists, the Democrats, and the Republicans. Favez concludes with Maurice Baumont that “the occupation of the Ruhr gave a soul to National Socialism: that it represents the birth of Nazism.”

Favez examines Republican Germany immediately preceding the crisis and the international situation leading to the French decision to occupy the territory. He then turns his attention to the immediate effects within the Reich of the French and Belgian occupation, exposing the failures of the government that created a desire for a strong authoritarian leadership. After tracing the decline and final defeat of the parliamentary forces, he says that twenty-four hours after the end of the Ruhr struggle, Germany had ceased to be a parliamentary democracy. Because of the discontent generated by the crisis, Germany, led by such industrialists as Hugo Stinnes, sought the dictatorship that the army and the Right wished to establish.

Favez's skillfully organized analysis is convincingly argued and impressively documented with an extensive bibliography and careful footnotes. The full implications of the impact of the Ruhr struggle on the victory of totalitarianism has been heretofore largely unexplored. Mr. Favez has specifically delineated the relationship.

*University of Southwestern Louisiana*

AMOS E. SIMPSON

THE HISTORY OF THE NAZI PARTY: 1919-1933. By *Dietrich Orlow*. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1969. Pp. x, 338. \$11.95.)

MR. Orlow has written a very valuable book and one that has long been needed. While

there has been a deluge of material regarding Hitler and concerning various aspects of the Third Reich, there has been until now no serious survey of the NSDAP during the Weimar period written since the great masses of captured documents became available to the scholar. Here in one volume is a brief summary of the development of the party from its infancy to its attainment of power in 1933.

In essence, the book concentrates upon the position of Hitler within the party, the organizational development of the party, and its propaganda programs through the years. It is here that its greatest value lies. The author is clearly master of his material in this area. He leads the reader through a labyrinth of currents and cross-currents in Hitler's wake, showing how Hitler met and solved each crisis that arose within the party, again and again turning imminent disaster into political success. Only at the end does Mr. Orlow's logic break down. In the last paragraph he tells us that the party was really a failure because, had it not achieved power in early 1933, it would have collapsed. Here he proves that the bumblebee cannot fly and ignores the strong possibility that Hitler would again have shown his facility for triumphing over adversity, a point so strongly stressed throughout the book.

When the author leaves the perimeters described above, he is far less effective. He clearly knows little of the SA and shortchanges it consistently, except for the period immediately prior to the Beer Hall Putsch when he overemphasizes its importance. The significance and complexity of Hitler's balancing act between political organization and political army and the adroit manner in which he used these two tools in various combinations to achieve his ends is obscured. Such important developments as the struggle for control of the SA in 1923 (of which there is still no account in print), Hitler's masterly elimination of Röhm as an independent factor in 1925, and even the founding of the SS and its development are passed over in silence.

Mr. Orlow's sporadic ventures into the social history of the party are also weak. He is inclined to depend upon fragmentary and sometimes questionable evidence and fails to make comparisons with similar institutions and rival groups. His social categories, too, seem both arbitrary and artificial and are presented without clear definition. His lower-middle class, for example, seems at times to embrace almost everyone between *Junker* and proletariat. Most important, evidence to support a number of his statements is not presently available either here or elsewhere.

Least satisfactory of all are Mr. Orlow's dealings with the environment of the party. He makes surprising and serious factual errors in discussing Bavaria before 1924. For example, he places *Bayern und Reich*, a much larger and bitterly detested rival of the NSDAP, in its camp and claims that the Bavarian government was in alliance with Hitler at a time when its primary interest was in neutralizing him. Finally, throughout, his discussion of the political scene and of National Socialist dealings with other organizations often lacks depth, since little, if anything, is presented regarding the partners or rivals involved.

In short Mr. Orlow has presented us with a valuable internal administrative history of the NSDAP before 1933 and in so doing has undoubtedly opened up fruitful new fields for further research and discussion. As a pioneer, he will doubtless see a good deal of his work challenged and perhaps superseded; however, in giving us this survey of the party, he has not only proven his courage, but performed a very real service to the historical profession.

*University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

VOM REICH ZUM WELTREICH: HITLER, NSDAP UND KOLONIALE FRAGE 1919-1945. By *Klaus Hildebrand*. [Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Instituts der Universität Mannheim, Number 1.] (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag. 1969. Pp. 955. DM 96.)

IM KAMPF GEGEN HITLER: DIE ÜBERWINDUNG DER ANSCHLUSSIDEE. By *Kurt Schuschnigg*. (Vienna: Verlag Fritz Moden. 1969. Pp. 472. DM 25.)

AMONG the myriad books written on the Third Reich there are surprisingly few on the relations between colonialism and national socialism. Hildebrand's study, based on meticulous and detailed research, admirably fills this gap with a book that makes a significant contribution to the historical literature of the period.

Hildebrand argues that Hitler's aim since the 1920's was continental domination and land in the East. He did not want to make the mistake Wilhelmine Germany had made of alienating Britain by an aggressive naval and colonial policy. This initial aim achieved, Germany would abstain from naval and colonial programs for a century and then, finally secure in its continental base, make its bid for world power. Thus until 1928 the NSDAP was remarkably silent on the colonial issue. On the other hand, the leaders of the colonial movement, aristocrats and prosperous bourgeois, needed popular support to bring them out from their social and political isolation in the Weimar republic. This they hoped to find in the NSDAP and its colonial expert, Franz Xaver von Epp. At the same time, light industry, the chemical concerns, and shipping interests were demanding colonial restitution, and Hitler was increasingly interested in winning support from these circles. Even heavy industry, which was less interested in colonies, made similar ritual noises. Hitler was prepared to make concessions to the colonial groups in order to gain the support of conservative and industrial groups, although his basic conception of the role of colonies in future German foreign policy remained virtually unchanged. Colonial policy thus became for the Nazis an instrument of domestic politics, rather than foreign policy.

Hildebrand is most successful in making sense out of the ensuing confusion caused by attempts to make the colonial groups abandon their dreams of a German Empire in Africa and to accept the Nazi doctrine of *Lebensraum* in the East, by the divisions within the NSDAP with Göring and Schacht as the leaders of a pro-colonial faction against the Strassers with their pseudo-socialist anti-imperialism, and by Hitler's attempts to square the circle of not antagonizing the British and at the same time appeasing the conservatives and their colonial demands. By 1935 it was clear that Britain was not prepared to abandon her continental position, and Hitler therefore determined to make colonial demands in order to win concessions from Britain. Ribbentrop, however, was anti-British and pro-colonial and tended to take these colonial threats seriously, rather than using them to win over the British. This new policy was equally unsuccessful, and Britain had now to be considered as a potential enemy. Yet unlike Raeder and the navy, or Ribbentrop and the foreign office, Hitler still hoped for an arrangement with Britain. Perhaps military triumph in the East would bring Britain to her senses. Victory over the Soviet Union would be followed by colonies and bases in Africa, springboards for the final battle between Germany and the United States. The way to Africa, and to world power, lay through Moscow. By the time of Stalingrad, Germany's African Empire was planned in minute detail, with bureaucrats and Empire-builders fighting desperately for power positions in this fantasy world in the tropics. Suddenly in 1943 an order from Bormann caused the empire to collapse like a house of cards. All efforts were now needed to save the military situation in the East. The Red Army had ended the colonial dream.



The book is not without its shortcomings. Hildebrand's style is clear and succinct, and the book reads well in spite of its excessive length, but he tends to be repetitive. (Pages 742 to 744 are repeated almost word for word thirty pages later.) In a study so exhaustive the social and economic forces behind these colonial demands are given insufficient treatment. A final chapter on West European reactions to German colonial demands is very superficial and seems to have been added with little enthusiasm as an afterthought. The bibliography, although most useful and detailed, has some curious omissions, such as A. S. Jerussalimski's articles on German imperialism. But such criticisms are minor. This is a very good book that throws much new light on many aspects of the history of the period and goes far beyond its immediate subject to illuminate both foreign and domestic policy.

Hildebrand's book is a most useful contribution to historical literature; Kurt Schuschnigg's latest effort is not. It has little value either as narrative history or as a personal memoir. Its literary value is nil. It contains a few documents, mainly from the *Bundesarchiv*, of marginal importance. Otherwise the book is unlikely to be of much interest to historians. Perhaps this apologia for clerical fascism with its sneaking admiration for Mussolini will have its admirers, but the publishers' extravagant claims for its historical objectivity do not impress. Schuschnigg is, alas, as unsuccessful as a historian as he was as a politician.

*Simon Fraser University*

MARTIN KITCHEN

THE LIMITS OF HITLER'S POWER. By *Edward N. Peterson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. xxiii, 472. \$12.50.)

Mr. Peterson of the Wisconsin State University at River Falls asks some important questions about Hitler's Germany in his introduction: How did the dictatorship actually function? Did Hitler himself curtail his own power? How effectively did central and local officials carry out orders? Did they set limits on Hitler? What was life in the Third Reich really like? To answer these interesting questions, Mr. Peterson takes Bavaria as a case study and examines particularly the cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, the towns of Friedberg and Eichstätt, and three Swabian farming villages.

Mr. Peterson's forte is characterization. His portraits of Nazi hierarchy and bureaucracy are painted with deft strokes—as when he says of Dr. Otto Meissner, the quintessential bureaucrat, “it will take some infrared vision to observe a man so much in the shadows.” Unfortunately the author fails to relate his profiles to a central question he has posed: to what extent did these people limit Hitler's power? After a particularly perceptive description of Dr. Hans Lammers, head of the Reich chancellery, the author concludes that Lammers really lacked the personal dynamism and desire to develop the possibilities of his key position. Similarly Peterson is correct in showing that Bormann, Ribbentrop, Göring, Seldte, Hess, Streicher, Epp, *et al.*, made no effort to curtail the power of the man upon whom their existence depended. Thus we have a long and often fascinating parade of people who did not in fact set limits on Hitler's power. The question remains unanswered: did anyone?

The ways in which the Nazi regime actually affected life at the local level is not systematically discussed, although Mr. Peterson has the literary skill, command of archival materials, and insights gained by personal interviews to do so. For the most part his interest in local history is in local personalities. Again we are treated to skillful sketches: *Kreisleiters*, priests, teachers, bakers, merchants, farmers come alive in these pages. But one misses disciplined and sustained treatment of the key question. Nor

are the vivid passages describing such matters as persecution of Jews and local political feuding clearly related to themes of the book.

A strong conclusion might have pulled together this study. Instead, we are given a suggestive and wide-ranging essay with many provocative statements that are not derived from the rest of the book and that are sometimes at odds with it. What, for example, was the role of the *Gauleiters*? Did they set limits on Hitler's power? Mr. Peterson's conclusion asserts that they openly, continuously, and successfully resisted Hitler's government. But his own study of Bavarian *Gauleiters* previously forced him to conclude that "the Gauleiter, as such, had no voice in central policy. Conferences called by Hitler were simply to inform the Gauleiters of a decision already taken." The crucial question of Hitler's personal power is not treated adequately. After noting that he habitually retreated from making hard decisions, Mr. Peterson asks, "What was Hitler afraid of?" Here is a subtle and important question that probes a complex psyche; the author does not attempt to answer it. At the end of the book he suggests tentatively that Hitler's very irrationality and administrative inefficiency may actually have increased his manipulative power by creating confusions and conflicts that only the dictator could adjudicate. It is an interesting conclusion, but one that does not emerge from the preceding pages. Peterson does not distinguish clearly either between Hitler's potential power and his use of it or between the potential limits on his power and the actual limits set.

In sum, this is a book of high promise not fulfilled. There is excellent material here, imaginative research, fine writing, and flashes of insight into a dozen problems. What the book lacks is a strong editorial hand to force clearer organization, sharper focus, and more systematic and sustained treatment of the questions it raises.

Williams College

R. G. L. WAITE

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA L'AUSTRIA E IL REGNO DI SARDEGNA. First Series, 1814-1830. Volume II (23 LUGLIO 1820-3 AGOSTO 1922). Edited by *Narciso Nada*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1968. Pp. xiii, 504. L. 5,000.)

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA L'AUSTRIA E IL GRANDUCATO DI TOSCANA. Third Series, 1848-1860. Volume IV (2 GENNAIO 1853-16 MAGGIO 1856). Edited by *Angelo Filipuzzi*. [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1968. Pp. 581. L. 5,000.)

AMONG the most important and best-edited collections of documents published in Europe since World War II are those in the *Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814-1860*, published by the Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. Three of the series in this impressive project deal with the diplomatic relations between Austria and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The original copies of the documents in all the volumes of the three series thus far published are housed in the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna. Most of the works in the above series have been edited by such well-known Italian historians as Narciso Nada, Franco Valsecchi, and Ruggero Moscati; others, including

the third series of *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra l'Austria e il granducato di Toscana*, have been edited by the distinguished Austrian historian Angelo Filipuzzi.

Like the other volumes in the series, each of the two volumes reviewed here contains a useful register of all the documents in it and an index of names. All the documents are reproduced in full. Most of them are written in French, although an occasional one is in German.

I found the first of the volumes the more interesting of the two, if only because the documents in it deal largely with the Neapolitan and particularly the Sardinian revolutions of 1820-21 and the reaction of the Austrian government to them. Included are reports by Austrian ministers at Turin which give new insight into internal conditions in Piedmont. These reports should be seriously considered by anyone studying the 1821 revolution in Sardinia.

The second volume deals with Austrian relations with Tuscany during a much more tranquil period. Many of the documents in this volume provide new information not only about internal Tuscan problems and relations between the Austrian and Tuscan governments, but also about Italian problems in general and the Crimean War in particular.

*Rice University*

R. JOHN RATH

IL MERCATO MONETARIO IN PIEMONTE NEL SECOLO XVIII. By *Giuseppe Felloni*. [Studi e ricerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1968. Pp. 365.)

FOR many years the Banca Commerciale Italiana has been subsidizing a series of publications on the economic history of Risorgimento Italy. These works tend to be ponderous, sumptuously produced, long on statistical information, and short on interpretation. Felloni's monograph is no exception. Those who are led by its title to expect an account of how the Piedmontese money market worked, how it changed, and what these changes signify, will be disappointed. We have instead a small amount of discussion connecting six impressive heaps of statistics (involving some 127 tables) on the money of account, the media of exchange, mint output, volume of coins in circulation, paper money output, and valuations of coins and paper money. Only certain aspects of the money market, therefore, are tackled. No conceptual framework is used; even the much-discussed question of the nature of Piedmontese mercantilism is avoided. And there is only the barest attempt to relate the trends described to general economic history or to compare the events discussed with those in other countries or other eras.

This work, then, is decidedly not a general study but rather a sharply limited resource for numismatists and for specialists in eighteenth-century Piedmontese history. For this small audience Felloni has labored well. His time series are clearly presented and scrupulously justified, and much of what he presents is his own work. He also uses the work of previous historians (such as Promis, Prato, and Einaudi) who have generated monetary statistics. Felloni corrects the work of these previous scholars in several particulars. He gives us in addition a highly interesting attempt to measure the relative importance for the volume of circulating coins of domestic mining, minting from precious metal plate, military subsidies from allies, and the balance of payments. Scholars unfamiliar with Felloni's earlier monograph on paper money will be surprised to learn how large was the volume of notes in circulation. And those interested in the era of the French Revolution will be able to mine much valuable material here on monetary inflations other than that of the famous *assignats*.

*University of Pennsylvania*

MARTIN WOLFE

THE PROVISIONAL AUSTRIAN REGIME IN LOMBARDY-VENETIA, 1814-1815. By *R. John Rath*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 412. \$10.00.)

THIS exceptionally thorough and careful study traces the progress of the Austrian provisional government in Lombardy-Venetia from the entry of the Austrian troops into Venetia in October 1813 to the failure of Joachim Murat's "War of Italian Independence" in the spring of 1815.

The book is based primarily on archival material, including documents destroyed in World War II, which the author had examined in connection with his study, *The Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy* (1941). It paints a fascinating picture of day-by-day administrative difficulties and decisions. These included survivals of the French administrative structure, Austrian soldiers acting rudely to Italians, conflicts with the papacy over the appointment of the Patriarch of Venice, and famine conditions in Venetia in the winter of 1814-15. The latter led to riots in Polesine, numerous attempts to sack grain supplies, and six mutinies against tax collectors.

The author stresses the differences between the provinces. Venetia was less fertile and less advanced economically, but more pro-Hapsburg. Lombardy, in contrast, became the center of a network of secret societies, some indeed so secret that their very existence is still in doubt. It was also the focal point of a rather vague plot to overthrow the Hapsburgs, a plan known as the Brescian-Milanese conspiracy.

The reaction of the Austrian provisional government to these problems seems to have been primarily pragmatic. It was more responsive to pressure and protest than is generally assumed. Unlike the government in neighboring Piedmont, the Austrians did not dismiss officials who had served the French, degrade Napoleonic officers, or restore Church lands. Even French law remained in force for a time.

The term most frequently used to characterize the Austrian provisional government in Lombardy-Venetia is "mild." In the permanent organization of the two provinces, however, the resolute centralism of Francis I prevailed. The widespread desire of the politically articulate portion of the population for a federative solution was ignored, with fateful consequences in 1848 and 1859.

*Hunter College*

EDITH M. LINK

THE CZECH REVOLUTION OF 1848. By *Stanley Z. Pech*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 386. \$10.00.)

PECH, a Canadian historian of Czech origin, here provides the first comprehensive treatment in English of the participation of the Czechs of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in the Revolution of 1848. In eight chronological chapters and five additional ones on his favored social groups, he gives a detailed account of their activities between March 1848 and May 1849. The study is essentially a synthesis of the large (mostly Czech) secondary bibliography and published sources, seasoned with references to several contemporary newspapers and a token selection from two archives in Prague (nothing at all from Vienna). The exposition is successfully maintained at the level of the nonspecialist, and the author is generally clear in depicting the complicated nexus of events, issues, and organizations involved. Given this clarity, the dearth of scholarly writing on Czech history in English, and the significance of the subject, the book will serve as an important reference work for American scholars and students for a long time to come. It is a pity, therefore, that a number of obvious shortcomings escaped both the author and editors. There is an inordinate amount of

verbatim repetition within as well as between the narrative and topical chapters and the conclusion. Little of the "wonder, excitement, and suspense" which the author attributes to the revolution comes through. Pech's writing style is ponderous, wordy, and laced with Victorian expressions and clichés ("women of easy virtue," "intrepid maidens," "dialogue with the muse Clio"), and he cannot resist moralizing and polemicizing over characters and issues dead for more than a century. Instead of a helpful bibliographical essay to assist future Western researchers, there is only a long list of untranslated titles. Especially objectionable are the author's unchecked biases, particularly his undisguised preference for the frustrated Czech radical minority and the "have-nots" (students, workers, peasants, women, Slovaks, and "the young") who filled its chaotic ranks or for whom it presumed to speak. For the famous group of bourgeois liberals who dominated the Czech revolution, excised its radical demands, and "abetted the reaction" with their Austro-Slav program, Pech shows greater distaste and less understanding than many contemporary Czechoslovak Marxists, who tend to regard them simply as "progressives" who were "captives of their time and class." This distortion, together with the stressing of social and economic issues over the main theme of nationality conflict, reduces the value of the book as a basic English-language introduction to the subject.

State University of New York, Albany

JOSEPH FREDERICK ZACEK

## Near East

### STUDIEN ZUM KULTURBILD UND SELBSTVERSTÄNDNIS DES ISLAMIS.

By *Gustav E. von Grunebaum*. (Zürich: Artemis Verlag. 1969. Pp. 481. 118 fr. S.)

THE publication of this book was undertaken as a tribute to G. E. von Grunebaum on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday (1909-69). In the past thirty-three years Professor von Grunebaum has distinguished himself beyond doubt as a great scholar in the fields of Arabic and Islamic studies. His publications in these fields are numerous and diversified, totalling about fifteen books, 150 articles, and 130 book reviews. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many of his colleagues and friends should affix their names to the congratulatory list in front of the book.

This book consists of thirteen of the most articulate and sophisticated articles written by Professor von Grunebaum during the period between 1956 and 1966. All these articles are published elsewhere in English: seven in *Modern Islam—The Search for Cultural Identity* and two in *Islam—Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*; the remaining four are selected from other well-known publications of Professor von Grunebaum. Those responsible for the publication of this book should be highly complimented for the selection, arrangement, and translation into German of these very significant studies.

The book is divided into two main sections: Part I, "The Cultural Image of Islam" and Part II, "Towards Self-understanding of Islam." Moreover, the publishers have embellished these studies with a comprehensive list of Professor von Grunebaum's publications and a carefully compiled index.

The subject matter and style of these articles are unquestionably stimulating, indicating that Professor von Grunebaum is a master of ideas as well as a master of words. He is both a creative thinker and a literary artist. When his systematic thinking prevails over his artistic ability, his thoughts are usually straightforward and clear; when his artistic talents take over, however, a beautiful though somewhat blurred

literary picture develops, couched in complex and fascinating syntax, leaving the reader somewhat disconcerted and wondering about its esoteric significance.

During the political expansion of Islam, the Arab ruling elite recognized that they were conquering regions that possessed a higher material culture than their own. Their attitude, therefore—and they should be given ample credit for it—was to watch and learn rather than to ignore and destroy. Caliph 'Umar, under whose leadership the Arabs first expanded into an empire, ordered his forces and all other Arabs who emigrated from Arabia to establish their own settlements and stay away as much as possible from the non-Muslim inhabitants of the captured territories. From linguistic, religious, and social (mainly pertaining to family customs) points of view, these Arabs may be said to have adopted very few habits from the peoples around them. From a material and cultural point of view, however, they adopted many features of the then-civilized world.

On the other hand, as the non-Arab inhabitants of the Middle East under Islamic rule continued individually to be converted to Islam, they usually left their own homes, joined themselves to Arab Muslims, and lived within the Arab settlements as *mawālī* "clients." As a result, a new Arabic-Islamic populace emerged within the empire in which Muslims, both Arabs and non-Arabs, constituted, as it were, one integrated society. The culture of the Arab Empire during its classical period may be considered, therefore, as a highly integrated one with two equally important strata: an Arab superstratum (since the Arabs supplied the ruling dynasty) on the linguistic and religious side, and a Persian-Byzantine substratum on the material and cultural side.

Professor von Grunebaum recognizes the adaptive and integrative powers of Islam as indicated by the first article of Part I in the book under review. In the first article of Part II, "Der Islam und das Problem Kultureller Beeinflussung," the author makes it clear that cultural transformation is essentially of two types: one organic or structural, which he calls *orthogenetisch*; and the other environmental or diachronic, which he calls *heterogenetisch*. However, in his application of these two types of cultural transformation, he seems to maintain that the Arabic-Islamic culture as it developed was almost totally heterogenetic. Most of what was thought to be orthogenetic (Islam as a religion, for example) was in fact foreign, or as he expresses it "an alien gospel." The studies published in this book suggest that wherever the Arabs went, they were adapters and recipients but not contributors.

I thoroughly recognize the great impact of the Persian and Byzantine cultures on the Arabic-Islamic world, especially during the heyday of its classical period. Yet it is academically unfair to minimize the basic Arab contributions as indicated by the originally Arab features of the Islamic religion itself (and they are many and vital); the highly developed and refined Arabic prose and poetry of pre-Islamic times, whose beauty and expressive qualities fascinated many non-Arab and even non-Muslim scholars; and the purely Arab social and familial customs, regardless whether by Western standards they are deemed progressive or not. Furthermore, the Prophet Muhammad, whose everyday life and words have become guidelines for almost all patterns of behavior in the Arabic-Islamic world until the present time, was himself an Arab, lived like an Arab, and behaved like an Arab.

There is no doubt that the thirteen articles of Professor von Grunebaum published in this book are as stimulating as they are profitable and replete with quotable quotes and challenging ideas. However, the author seems to lay significantly more emphasis on the heterogenetic side of Islam than the orthogenetic one. In my judgment the



integrative nature of the Arabic-Islamic culture is better understood first in terms of its organic Arabic component and then its borrowed Persian, Byzantine, Indian, and more recently Western components, with appropriate emphasis laid on each.

*Harvard University*

WILSON B. BISHAI

THE YOUNG TURKS: THE COMMITTEE OF UNION AND PROGRESS IN TURKISH POLITICS, 1908-1914. By *Feroz Ahmad*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 205. \$7.00.)

THIS outstanding study of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) during 1908-14, based on Turkish and Western sources, is a significant contribution to the literature of the Young Turk Movement.

This reviewer is in agreement with the author that the 1908 Young Turk Revolution was not a coup d'état of junior officers, but "was primarily a political operation with only marginal military overtones." In 1908 the CUP, which had been a secret organization, emerged as "a society which conceived itself the agent of the general will." The CUP was not a monolithic organization: it lacked a guiding principle, except for a vague ideal of constitutionalism and a desire from modernization.

The CUP met opposition from many quarters, including cabinet members, the bureaucracy, and even senior officers. Almost all problems that faced the CUP were the direct outcome of their modernization policy, opposed by vested interests within the Empire and also by the Great Powers. At first the CUP kept their organization secret and tried to influence decisions indirectly. By 1912, the opposition to the CUP's nationalism, led loosely by Prince Sabaheddin and the Liberal Union, representing the more moderate cosmopolitan groups, was quite strong.

It was the Ottoman defeats in Libya (1912), and the Balkans (1912-13), that gave the CUP its chance. But even after Enver's 1913 coup, the leadership of the CUP "was always a collectivized process, and it is an oversimplification to talk of the triumvirs." Enver, Talât, and Cemal did not always see eye to eye. Enver Pasha, who has usually been depicted as pro-German, actually vacillated, and it was the course of events rather than the CUP that involved the Empire in a disastrous war.

The author has demonstrated a profound knowledge of Turkish politics, and his scholarship is meticulous. There is no doubt that students of Turkish history will wait impatiently for the author's second volume dealing with the CUP's policies during the 1914-18 war years.

*Washington, D. C.*

KERIM KÂMI KEY

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN AFGHANISTAN: POLITICS OF REFORM AND MODERNIZATION, 1880-1946. By *Vartan Gregorian*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 586. \$17.50.)

AFGHANISTAN: SOME NEW APPROACHES. *George Grassmuck et al.*, Editors. (Ann Arbor: Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, University of Michigan. 1969. Pp. vii, 405. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Gregorian has produced a major work of scholarship, which in one volume provides us with what may well be the definitive survey of the rise of modern Afghanistan. His approach, which is holistic, probes closely into the forces that divided Afghan society and kept it disappointingly underdeveloped until recent years. He also exposes the causes of conflict between the efforts at centralization and modernization by

the elites around the monarchy, on the one hand, and the tribal and traditionalist leadership on the other. While ethnohistory is not his forte, he treats us to a useful discussion of the major facts of tribal history and social organization. There is also a fine discussion of the Anglo-Russian rivalry over Afghanistan that played so large a role in Afghan history in the past hundred and fifty years.

Dr. Gregorian's scholarship and research is most impressive. His use of a wide range of sources scattered through a variety of archives and in several major languages has been painstaking and has provided checks and balances upon an undue reliance on any one point of view. His meticulous care in assessing a variety of points that a less careful scholar would have been willing to slur over, gives the reader confidence in the quality of his work and in the durability of his findings. This does not mean that there is not room for monographic research on a number of the particular issues covered in this study of the history of Afghanistan, for there is. It means that, for a work of its type, no finer scholarship—combining a far-reaching and balanced perspective with detailed and careful scrutiny—could have been asked for. The value of the work is enhanced by excellent notes, a rich bibliography, and useful appendixes. There is also a very good index.

In a volume with so much to commend it, one is hard pressed to single out features that are particularly praiseworthy. To me, however, it would seem that Dr. Gregorian's discussion of the role of nationalism in the modernization process in Afghanistan is an especially valuable part of the volume, as is also his lucid analysis of the complex and vexed set of factors that led to the overthrow and flight of Amanullah Khan early in 1929. Though the price is high, it is a volume that every decent library should have and that all specialists on the region will want to own.

The volume edited by Professor Grassmuck and his colleagues is not so easy to evaluate or to describe. This is due somewhat to the fact that it comprises a collection of papers prepared, in large part, by the participants in a special seminar on Afghanistan at the University of Michigan in the summer of 1967. It was, moreover, a seminar concerned primarily with research methods and tools, rather than with substantive content. The project that resulted in this collection of papers was also inspired by the view that it was time to try to bring together in one place a variety of new approaches to the study of Afghan society. The set of papers is uneven, however, some being more useful to the student than others.

The first paper in the volume is a translation of a Russian study of the "Ethnography of Afghanistan" by A. G. Aslanov and others. It includes valuable information on language, on cultural life, and on religion, as well as an ethnosurvey of each tribe in the nation.

Dunning Wilson has provided a sensitive and well-informed paper on "Afghan Literature," its historical background and its contemporary major trends. His survey is, regrettably, all too brief.

Leon Poullada offers a controversial interpretation of the "Amanullah Reforms" that led to his abdication and flight. In the opinion of Mr. Poullada, it was not the modernizing nature of the Amanullah reforms that caused political upheaval and rebellion. The version given by Professor Gregorian seems to me to be more balanced and to account for more factors in what was admittedly a very complicated course of events than does the version presented by Mr. Poullada.

Mr. Patrick Reardon provides a sound, carefully researched, and lucid account of the contemporary developments in Afghanistan, with special reference to modernization and reform. His exposition recites those features of the interaction of modernizing

thrusters and traditional status-maintaining mechanisms that Dr. Gregorian has so well documented in his volume, but carries the story into a period later than that covered in the Gregorian volume.

Ludwig Adamec gives us a valuable picture of the role of Germany as a distant power in Afghanistan's foreign relations. Therein he makes clear the imperatives that caused the Afghan monarchy to seek friendly relationships with and technical help from a distant state that would, it was hoped, not be in a position to upset the delicate balance of power between Afghanistan and her near neighbors.

There is also an extensive and useful chronology and a general bibliography. Several specialized bibliographies of very useful material, including a bibliography of Soviet publications on Afghanistan. Despite the unevenness noted previously, the work is a useful compendium that emphasizes new approaches to the study of Afghanistan.

*Syracuse University*

ROBERT I. CRANE

THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS. By *Richard P. Mitchell*. [Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 9.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xix, 349. \$8.75.)

PROFESSOR Mitchell's monograph is the definitive study in English of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and is a worthy addition to the Middle Eastern Monograph Series now under the editorship of Albert Hourani. Its appearance will be welcomed not only by historians, but by all social scientists interested in radical political movements in the Middle East.

The first half of the book is a succinct history of the movement; it is followed by careful discussions of organization and ideology. Throughout the author exhibits an admirable degree of analytic caution. In fact, in reading the book, I occasionally wished that he had been a bit more venturesome in his interpretation. Using a multitude of Arabic documents and periodicals, Mitchell is more than meticulous, yet he displays a discipline that avoids preoccupation with detail. A political scientist must applaud his effort to interpret the Brotherhood in the context of Egyptian political culture.

Professor Mitchell may be overly modest in declining to relate his findings to hypotheses about political modernization, but he provides many insights for which students of psychology and politics, political socialization, and ideology will be grateful. We find, for example, an informative portrait of Hasan al-Banna, the founder and first General Guide of the Brotherhood, a leader with charismatic qualities, and yet with uncertain political objectives. Mitchell's comparison of al-Banna with his successor, Hasan Isma'il Hudaybi, helps explain the collapse of the Brotherhood in 1954. The Brotherhood's emphasis on indoctrination at the grass-roots level through the "family," "rover," and "secret apparatus" organizations bears similarities to the organizational doctrine of contemporary movements of the radical Left, although Mitchell notes important differences as well. Mitchell's account of elite factionalism and the leadership's loss of authority may be relevant for understanding the situation of current Arab revolutionary movements.

One of the most useful parts of the book is the discussion of ideology. The author's elaboration of the Brotherhood's concepts of nationalism, Arabism, and Islamism are helpful, although they do not dispel all the ambiguity a Western observer may sense in the Brothers' program. The Brotherhood, while abjuring the iniquitous aspects of Westernization, did not regard itself as reactionary but rather in the modernist-

reformist tradition of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh. Its energetic commercial and welfare activities (even, to a lesser extent, its effort to establish an auxiliary of Muslim Sisters) attest to its concern for relevance in the modernized Egyptian society.

Was the Brotherhood revolutionary? Professor Mitchell suggests that the charge of subversive activity brought against the Society in 1948 and 1954 by the royal and military regimes, respectively, "is not precisely true." Banna and Hedaybi are depicted as advocating a reformist role for the Brotherhood, placing it outside politics altogether. The advocacy of violence was confined mainly to the semiautonomous "secret apparatus." Mitchell argues that recourse to violence was by no means peculiar to the Brothers, but was widespread—an outgrowth of the corruption rampant in Egyptian politics after World War II. Whether or not one accepts this rather benign interpretation of the Society's role, he will find Professor Mitchell's study an important contribution.

*The Johns Hopkins University*

MICHAEL C. HUDSON

A HISTORY OF JERUSALEM. By *John Gray*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. 336. \$10.00.)

To write a one-volume history of Jerusalem, the city holy to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, is a formidable and challenging task, which the author of this book, an authority on Near Eastern archeology, on the Canaanites, and on the Bible, has undertaken. In a well-organized survey, taking into account some of the latest discoveries in Palestinian archeology, the author deals with the site and topography of Jerusalem, with Jerusalem as an Amorite city-state, with Jerusalem as the city of David and Solomon, with its restoration under Ezra and Nehemia, with its significance under the house of Herod, and then with the emergence of Jerusalem as the metropolis of Christendom. He dwells on the Muslim phase in Jerusalem's history in his chapters, "The Sword of the Wilderness," and "The Crescent and the Cross," and unfolds the period of Islam and the Crusades. In jumping over what he terms "the rather obscure and dull Turkish period," the author spends, in his last two chapters entitled "Ottoman Obscurity" and "A City Divided," disproportionate space on the recent power politics in Palestine, expressing his personal views on British policy in Palestine, the modern Zionist movement, and the Arab-Jewish conflict. This journalistic excursion based probably on his personal experiences as former chaplain of the Palestinian police, has no place in an otherwise scholarly treatise, and his sarcastic remarks on various political figures do not enhance the scholarly value of this work; it is also marred by a number of errors in facts and dates and misprints (Hulagu Khan can hardly be called a Christian).

Each chapter is accompanied by copious notes, relevant illustrations, maps and plans, and appendixes dealing with chronological and genealogical tables, together with a selected bibliography, which enables the reader to delve into further studies of the fascinating history of Jerusalem, the Holy City.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WALTER J. FISCHER

- NATION-BUILDING AND COMMUNITY IN ISRAEL. By *Dorothy Willner*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 478. \$10.00.)
- MOSHAVA, KIBBUTZ, AND MOSHAV: PATTERNS OF JEWISH RURAL SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN PALESTINE. By *D. Weintraub et al.* Foreword by *S. N. Eisenstadt*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xxiii, 360. \$14.50.)

ALTHOUGH they are not directly related to the problem of political consensus in the modern state—the central issue that preoccupies observers of new states in the making—these studies by Dorothy Willner and Weintraub, Lissak, and Azmon, provide detailed analyses of the role of the rural sector in the development of Jewish Palestine and the state of Israel. Complex and comprehensive, they cover much of the same material, differing mainly with respect to emphasis, attention paid to the total history of Zionism in Palestine, and methodology. Willner adopts an interdisciplinary approach, perhaps combining in the most suitable way the talents of the anthropologist, the ethnographer, and the historian. The triumvirate responsible for the second work is made up of sociologists who adhere to a method common to their profession and best exemplified in the work of the eminent student of Israel's society, S. N. Eisenstadt. In both instances, it is clear that the authors understand the very special place occupied by agricultural labor in Palestine-Israel; its political, psychological, and spiritual function, and finally its economic place. To say this is to acknowledge that agricultural settlement in this country and for this nation was not a matter of economic choice alone; it was dictated by a variety of sentiments and endorsed by a variety of ideological movements. Agricultural production, then, assumes a particular role in the total scheme of the national development process. It is interesting to speculate on the fact that much experimentation along these lines occurred while Palestine was under foreign rule, that is to say before independence in 1948. This is a factor regarded by Weintraub, Lissak and Azmon, as having, on the whole, been beneficial to the settlers. The function of the kibbutz, the moshav, and the moshava, the three types of settlement discussed in these books, was to be profoundly affected by the changes in the nature of the state after independence, particularly by the changing nature of the economy and the waves of immigration that brought masses of non-Westerners to the country. Willner deals with this situation in a very effective way, contrasting the situation of Jews in the High Atlas mountains of Morocco before and after their emigration to Israel. It is a commonplace by now that the matter of integration, whether in the urban or rural sector, produced tensions and cultural shock that seriously threatened the new settlers. One might have wished for a closer look at the implications and motivations of this integration, since it affects not only the collectives but the entire nation. Equally problematical, though in an entirely different sense, is the question, treated with much care in both books, of how rural settlements react to change. The change implicit here is primarily economic change, the advent of industrialization and modernization and the impact of both of these on the various settlements considered. Specifically, this involves the problem of accommodating the needs imposed by agricultural modernization and specialization on those settlements that have geared their ideological restrictions to a set of agricultural methods and a form of management that may have become obsolete. Both sets of authors are optimistic on this account, a conclusion with which other observers may not agree. They have succeeded, however, in pinpointing the key problems and dynamics of collective rural

settlement in Israel, and for this they will be consulted by students of land development techniques and the Palestinian-Israeli experiments in particular.

*Boston University*

IRENE L. GENDZIER

## Africa

AFRICA AND UNITY: THE EVOLUTION OF PAN-AFRICANISM. By *Vincent Bakpetu Thompson*. With a foreword by *Basil Davidson*. ([New York:] Humanities Press. 1969. Pp. xxv, 412. \$10.00.)

THE difficulty with books such as this is that one so much wants to approve, usually for philosophical reasons, yet cannot—at least, not without substantial misgivings. Mr. Thompson has written on a good topic *in extenso*. Quite clearly, he is no enemy of African unity; he ranges through a considerable amount of the literature, and he is honest. But his book is extremely repetitive and even somewhat out of date, apparently having been completed in 1966, so that, for instance, my biography of George Padmore is not listed. More important, however, the book suffers from a tendency to mention everything and to assume that if two events occur serially, they are connected. Time becomes a seamless web, and all is connected to all.

On the one hand he writes a cautionary tale: Africa must unite or go under. His account, especially his summing up, demonstrates the extremely varied experiences of Africans (wherever they may be in the world), and he fully documents the extent of particularism today. But he also insists that at all times Africans have been animated by common goals and have acted in the light of common negative experiences. Thus, everything can be called Pan-African and every opposite thing can be labelled anti-Pan-African. A necessary connection can be asserted, then, between every slave revolt (I avoid the Styron-Aptheker dispute) and a modern struggle such as the Angolan revolution.

Thompson has, in fact, given us a series of chapters that assert but do not show the evolution of an idea, a most fascinating idea. But are fascinating things always what they seem? Most students of the movement divide affairs at 1945, yet really how different, except in Marxist vocabulary, are Nkrumah's declarations from those of DuBois earlier? Can one demonstrate that it was Pan-Africanism that brought about the devolution of empires? Did it ever signify to the masses, and if so why has it lost its appeal today? Surely there is something peculiar about a notion that continually attracts more adherents outside the continent than within it. Mr. Thompson has a mournful story to tell, though he chooses to withhold despair. But his last chapter and epilogue could have been written by any Western critic of the African scene and hardly need the elaborate apparatus that surround them. He has good, potted histories of nearly everything, but his sources are overwhelmingly Western, and, in the case of southern Africa, very Euro-centered. One ends by recommending the book for true believers and specialists who will appreciate Thompson's appendixes, understand what he intended, and doubt that he accomplished it.

*Michigan State University*

J. R. HOOKER

THE CONQUEST OF THE WESTERN SUDAN: A STUDY IN FRENCH MILITARY IMPERIALISM. By *A. S. Kanya-Forstner*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 296. \$13.50.)

As Mr. Kanya-Forstner notes in the introduction to his work, the reasons for the



French conquest of the western Sudan have still to be adequately explained. This is the general purpose of the study, and the author's efforts can be accorded a qualified success. French interests and growing political and economic commitments in the western Sudan are traced from Faidherbe's administration in the 1850's until the greater part of the Empire had been won and political consolidation was beginning in 1900. Although military men on the spot could not and did not make all the decisions, their influence throughout these years was enormous; they often committed the home government to military and political advances against its earlier judgments. The author's most convincing sections, in fact, deal with the military leadership in West Africa, its expansionist designs, its frequent conflicts with civilian government in Paris, and its view of Islam. Conditioned by its difficulties with militant Islam in Algeria, French officers were always conscious of the military explosiveness of Islam and uneasy in dealing with individual Muslim leaders. The army's most aggressive and personally ambitious champion is clearly shown to have been Louis Archinard, who, despite efforts by the government in Paris to limit expansion in the western Sudan, destroyed the Tokolor Empire of Ahmadu and furthered the struggle with Samori. The apex of military influence in West Africa occurred in the 1890's with army officers in charge of most branches of the administration, most especially the *cercle d'administration*, the basic administrative unit and the bedrock of the administrative system. This brief but excellent description of the early military administrative system of the western Sudan will be of special interest to Africanists for its insights into the development of the French colonial system of administrative centralization and unconcern with tribal institutions. Unlike their British counterparts in Northern Nigeria, the French leaders preferred to bypass most Muslim rulers with whom they had just fought and consciously sought to keep new states small and to install rival leaders in neighboring areas.

Less effectively argued, however, is the author's interpretation of the wider motivations behind the French conquest of the Sudan. He claims that the French saw the western Sudan as an Eldorado—an area of great economic potential on the order of India and Egypt. Quite a few examples of this thinking are cited, but the quality of evidence is not so persuasive here. Even if the author's interpretation is right, one would like to know where these ideas of fabled wealth originated—from travelers or geographical societies—and how they continued to be held in the face of rapidly accumulating counterevidence of poverty and administrative burdens. In addition the role of public opinion in stimulating expansion is rather loosely handled; it comes and goes too much at the convenience of the author. For example, in suggesting that in the late 1870's there was a growth in general imperialist sentiment that helped the government to decide in favor of a Senegal-Niger railroad, Mr. Kanya-Forstner states that the membership of the Paris Geographical Society rose from 600 to 2000—hardly convincing statistics. But these criticisms cannot detract from an important work in the continuing re-explanation of European expansion in Africa.

Princeton University

ROBERT L. TIGNOR

HISTORY OF KENYA'S TRADE UNION MOVEMENT TO 1952. By *Makhan Singh*. (EAPH Political Studies, Number 9.) ([Nairobi:] East African Publishing House. 1969. Pp. 332. \$4.50.)

THIS book is an autobiography written in the third person. Makhan Singh was an interesting figure in Kenyan politics. He was the founder of modern trade unionism in

Kenya in the mid-nineteen-thirties, before trade unionism became significant in other parts of East Africa. Furthermore, he was, unlike most of his Kenyan-Asian contemporaries, willing to ally with African politicians. This tactic first bore fruit in 1939, and it is interesting to speculate on what might have happened had World War II not intervened. Makhan Singh's two main periods of activity were from 1935 to 1939 and from 1947 to 1950. He was interned in India during World War II and in Kenya from 1950 to 1960. Understandably, the most interesting parts of the book deal with the periods of Makhan Singh's personal involvement in Kenyan politics; and one of the great merits of the book is the large number of documents, particularly from the early period, that are printed verbatim.

There are also problems. Makhan Singh persists in seeing an identity between the trade unions and Jomo Kenyatta's nationalist political party, the Kenya African Union, when, instead, it would be much more accurate to see the trade-union leadership in the forties as a ginger group within the KAU that was frequently very critical of Kenyatta's leadership. This can be seen clearly in the events of 1950, when Kenyatta wavered over whether or not to support the boycott of the Duke of Gloucester's visit, and in the events subsequent to that. Furthermore, there is little recognition of the role of trade unionism in creating a privileged section of the working class based on skill and high wages. Nor is the book especially readable. But, nonetheless, it will remain an important primary source for anyone interested in the history of the labor movement in East Africa.

*Canadian Association of University Teachers*

DONALD C. SAVAGE

THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION. Volume I, THE ANATOMY OF AN EXPLOSION (1950-1962). By *John Marcum*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1969. Pp. xiv, 380. \$12.50.)

THE Angolan revolt against Portuguese colonial oppression is a decade old, with no end in sight. The struggle began out of the realization that Portugal did not intend to follow the examples of the other European colonial powers in Africa—Britain, France, and Belgium—in yielding to nationalist demands for independence. Under the legal fiction that its “overseas provinces” constituted an inalienable part of the nation, Portugal adopted a policy that ran counter to the decolonizing trend that followed World War II. One of the smallest and certainly the poorest of the former European colonial powers, Portugal's action has been motivated by concern for economic benefits and by prestige. It has also continued to use the rhetoric of its “civilizing mission” in Africa. But the truth is that although Portugal's relations with Angola go back to the sixteenth century, it was not until the early twentieth century that the colony was brought effectively under Portuguese rule. Since then, to strengthen its hold on Angola as well as to promote assimilation as a counter to African nationalism, Portugal has systematically promoted the settlement of its white citizens in Angola: the white population has jumped from 44,000 in 1940 to 200,000 in 1960 to a 1970 estimate of 435,000 that forms 7.5 per cent of the entire Angolan population. But this emigration has served as an additional stimulus to African nationalism.

Professor Marcum's study, which concentrates on the period from 1950 to 1962, is easily the most scholarly and detailed account of the background and the first two years of the Angolan revolt. His interest in and research on Angola dates from the late 1950's, and it is quite well known that his sympathies are with the African nationalists. In this volume, however, his sympathy is highly controlled; he succeeds admirably in being critical and objective.

Modern Angolan nationalism originated in the late nineteenth century in Luanda, the capital of Angola, among a small group of reform-minded *assimilados* who expressed themselves politically through newspapers and voluntary associations. From 1922, however, four years prior to the long and ultraconservative Salazar regime, the Angolan administration strove to muzzle the local press and to disband political associations. But, as elsewhere in Africa, World War II stimulated in Angola a new flurry of nationalist activity. Out of this ferment grew a number of primarily ethnic-based nationalist movements, the most important of which were the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA), and the Young Christians of Angola (JCA). Brutal and sustained attempts of the Portuguese to suppress this intensified nationalism led to the eruption of a violent conflict in northern Angola in the early months of 1961. The outbreak of the revolt led neither to a commitment to violence on the part of all nationalist groups, nor to an abatement of the competition and hostility that existed among them. And the initial favorable international response to the cause of Angolan independence led to unwarranted optimism among the nationalists. But it soon turned out that weak, poor Portugal could count on enough support—open and clandestine, material and moral—from its NATO allies and such right-wing governments as Spain and South Africa to wage a protracted war in Angola. Yet even in the face of this realization, the Angolan nationalists failed to form a united front. Professor Marcum details to the end of 1962 the divisions and rivalries as well as the military, political, and diplomatic initiatives of the various nationalist groups. By this time, however, the two major nationalist groups that have borne the brunt of the struggle until now had already come into existence: the MPLA (mentioned above) and the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE); and Angolans were more than ever committed to the struggle for independence.

Professor Marcum's able study of the struggle for Angolan independence to 1962 is not likely to be easily replaced for quite some time to come. Everyone interested in this struggle will eagerly look forward to his second volume that brings the story through the sixties. Perhaps these volumes will help to revive American interest in the vital but almost forgotten African struggle (in Mozambique and Guinea as well) against anachronistic Portuguese colonial oppression.

*Columbia University*

HOLLIS R. LYNCH

FROM UNION TO APARTHEID: A TREK TO ISOLATION. By *Margaret Ballinger*. (New York: Praeger Publishers. 1969. Pp. 499. \$12.50.)

CLASS AND COLOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA 1850-1950. By *H. J. and R. E. Simons*. [Penguin African Library.] (Baltimore: Penguin Books. 1969. Pp. 702. \$4.95.)

MARGARET Ballinger was one of the three white representatives who were elected to the South African House of Assembly by the African voters of the Cape Province in 1937, when the system of separate representation was inaugurated; she held her seat until 1960, when it was abolished. Inside and outside Parliament, she exposed the inhumane consequences of racial discrimination, and argued for a relaxation of the color bar and the progressive incorporation of Africans into the active political community. Dr. H. J. Simons, an influential professor in the University of Cape Town, and Mrs. R. E. Simons (Ray Alexander), a trade union organizer, were both leading

members of the Communist party of South Africa, until the party dissolved in 1950 as a result of the Anti-Communist Act. Mrs. Ballinger still lives in South Africa. Dr. and Mrs. Simons emigrated in 1964, when the government made it impossible for Dr. Simons to continue to teach, and they now live in Zambia.

Most of Mrs. Ballinger's book is a participant's parliamentary history of South Africa during the period when she was a member, with an epilogue summarizing subsequent events to 1968. It is a disappointing book. There is not much that is new in her rather dull chronicle of the debates of those years, though there is an illuminating account of private discussions with J. C. Smuts when he was prime minister and a useful summary of the history of the Natives Representative Council. She considers that during World War II Smuts could have initiated a process of change toward a freer society, in cooperation with the African elite who then led the African National Congress; but this is not very convincing. She scarcely mentions the fact that she was a member of a parliamentary team that included two colleagues who represented the other African constituencies in the House of Assembly and the four white senators who were also elected by Africans. Nor does she record her vision of the South African society she would have wished to develop in place of the stratified society she lived in. The main value of her book is that it will be an important source for historians who may wish to assess the role of white South African liberals during the middle years of the present century.

*Class and Colour in South Africa* is more hard-headed. It also contains more information that will be new to students of South African history, as the authors have drawn upon their own experiences and have also used a large number of rare newspapers and pamphlets. They have written a detailed, unemotional, and generally frank account of the successive disputes, strategies, and organizations of the radical Left in South Africa. The central problem socialists faced was how to achieve their goals in a racially stratified society, where white workers are privileged and black workers are insecure and obliged to keep one foot in the undeveloped African reserves. Were white workers to become the spearhead of socialism? Or was a black liberation movement to have the first priority?

At different times, socialists gave different answers to these questions. Their task was complicated not merely by the increasingly repressive techniques adopted by successive governments, but also by sudden shifts in the directives of the Comintern. In 1922, South African Communists played leading roles in the Witwatersrand revolt, when white miners seized control of Johannesburg rather than submit to management's attempts to open up higher grades of work to Africans. They even went so far as to use the slogan, "Workers of the World, Fight and Unite for a White South Africa." It was not until 1929 that the Communist party of South African unequivocally rejected white supremacy, incorporated Africans into its leadership, and adopted a program of racial equality as a steppingstone to a Communist order. Even so, except for a few zealots, African leaders remained more or less suspicious of the Communist party, and the party never managed to mobilize the African masses.

The conclusions of these two books are as different as their substance. Mrs. Ballinger would have us believe that her own liberal principles have now been adopted in good measure by the United party, the parliamentary opposition in contemporary South Africa, with the implication that a swing of the pendulum within the white electorate may still lead to a dismantling of the apparatus of oppression and racial discrimination. The Simonses are convinced that there is no prospect for such a process. Consequently, they have put their hopes in the African liberation movement,

which, driven underground since the early 1960's, is committed to a strategy of insurrection, guerrilla warfare, and armed invasion.

*Yale University*

LEONARD THOMPSON

## Asia and the East

ASIAN IDEAS OF EAST AND WEST: TAGORE AND HIS CRITICS IN JAPAN, CHINA, AND INDIA. By *Stephen N. Hay*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 40.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1970. Pp. xv, 480. \$15.00.)

FEW can now recall the meteoric rise to international prominence of Rabindranath Tagore subsequent to his receiving in 1913 the Nobel Prize for poetry. For some years thereafter, he symbolized in much of India, and in the world at large, the rich heritage of Indian life and culture. An important element in Tagore's outlook was the ideal of "Oriental civilization," which was seen as a spiritual force complementary to the utilitarian culture of Europe and America. India was the heart and source of "Eastern" values, and the Bengal poet considered that some sort of Pan-Asian union or federation was essential not only for the preservation of the Orient against the threat of modern Western nationalism, but for the protection of Europe itself against the ravages of modernity. To promote these views, Tagore traveled to Japan in 1916 and to China in 1924 and made numerous visits to various parts of the Indian sub-continent.

Professor Hay has reconstructed this era of Indian and East Asian intellectual history around Tagore's crusade and the responses it evoked among Japanese, Chinese, and Indian critics. Although using a seemingly narrow and restrictive theme, the author has happily managed to develop an extremely informative and provocative intellectual history of India in the first half of the twentieth century—compared and contrasted with that of contemporary East Asia. The task he set for himself was extraordinarily difficult—liable always to the risk that the long series of intellectual biographies and relevant quotations from writings and speeches (fifteen Indian, twenty-four Chinese, and forty-eight Japanese) could make tedious reading and result in confusing proliferation of viewpoints. In the hands of a less skillful analyst, such might well have been the case. That the present study does not so deteriorate is a tribute to Hay's thorough scholarship and his ability to keep the central theme before the reader throughout.

In general, he has shown why the simplistic view of "the Orient" and the uncritical use of the terms "East" and "West" can lead to conclusions, hopes, and policies bearing little relationship to reality. This, in essence, was the basis for the tragic disillusionment suffered by Tagore when his international dreams were so rudely dispelled. In his concluding analysis, Hay offers a penetrating insight into the nature of Tagore's religious outlook: ". . . insofar as it depended on achieving mutuality with other men [it] appears less Hindu than Judeo-Christian-Islamic, perhaps also Confucian—or simply as human. . . ."

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

D. MACKENZIE BROWN

THE CONCEPT OF MAN IN EARLY CHINA. By Donald J. Munro. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 256. \$7.50.)

To see Chinese philosophy discussed by someone who is a trained philosopher as well as a trained Sinologist is something of a treat. Professional philosophers have dealt with Chinese philosophy before. I am referring, for example, to Georg Misch's *The Dawn of Philosophy* (1950) and to the chapters on Confucius and Lao-tzu in Karl Jaspers' *The Great Philosophers* (1962). Both were dependent upon translations, however, for their investigations. Even though their treatments, especially those of Jaspers, are amazingly clear and sharp, their understanding was filtered through the interpretation of the translator and was limited by what was available in translation. Munro's book does not labor under such limitations. It is gratifying to note the wide range of his sources, which include even the inscriptional literature, and his authority in dealing with concepts pertaining to his topic. It is equally gratifying to follow the neatness of his argument and to contemplate the very aptly adduced comparisons from Western philosophy that give depth and contour to the Chinese situation. Munro deals in this book with the concept of man, and his main thesis is that both major schools of early Chinese philosophy conceived of the natural equality of man. This thesis has much to recommend itself, especially since the author succeeds in establishing clearly the fundamental differences between these schools and the conceptual systems on which their differences rest. In the case of Confucianism, however, the problem becomes complicated by the fact that two disciplines of philosophy—ontology and ethics—apparently have locked antlers over the question of equality, and that the hierarchical system of values introduced by ethics overshadows consistently the ontological approach to the point of making it almost meaningless. In the *Analects* the famous word on brotherhood—which, for that matter, does not come from Confucius himself, but from his most traditionalist disciple—does not talk about the brotherhood of men but about the brotherhood of gentlemen. Munro clearly recognizes this problem and deals with it skillfully, but it appears to me that he assigns to ontology a higher status within Confucianism than it can actually claim. One might wonder whether a digest of the pre-Confucian system as reflected in the older layers of the *Book of Changes*, a system in which ethical postulates play a minor role, if any, might not have helped to clarify the situation. This system is, of course, not a philosophical one, but attitudes reflected therein have no doubt influenced ontological positions within Confucianism as well as within other schools. As something of an afterthought, Munro has added at the end a chapter entitled "The Classical Legacy," in which he attempts to show to what extent the heritage of the past is still alive in contemporary utterances. "Relevant" as this might be, it is a rather dangerous undertaking since these utterances are determined not by a philosophy, but by an ideology in which the system, as well as specific positions therein, are determined by political rather than intellectual concerns.

University of Washington

HELLMUT WILHELM



SUN YAT-SEN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By *Harold Z. Schiffrin*. [The Center for Chinese Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 412. \$9.50.)

CHINESE INTELLECTUALS AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1911: THE BIRTH OF MODERN CHINESE RADICALISM. By *Michael Gasster*. [Far Eastern and Russian Institute Publications on Asia, Number 19. Sponsored by the Modern Chinese History Project of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1969. Pp. xxix, 288. \$9.50.)

LA BOURGEOISIE CHINOISE ET LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1911. By *Marie-Claire Bergère*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Matériaux pour l'étude de l'Extrême-Orient moderne et contemporain, Travaux, Number 3.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1968. Pp. 155. 28 fr.)

THE harvest of work on the Chinese republican revolution is being gathered in. Stimulated by reprinted documents, opened archives, and a notable conference organized in 1965 by Professor Mary Wright (whose recent death is a grievous loss to the profession), study of political leaders, their ideas, and the regional variations and social setting of the years of the revolution has proceeded apace in the 1960's. The works considered here emphasize different portions of the period. They also exemplify different methods in answering the question of how we should understand the revolution and the forces that produced it.

Mr. Schiffrin's study of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary development up to 1905 is one of the most penetrating and intellectually satisfying books on modern China yet to appear. Laying out a painstakingly researched narrative of Sun's activities between 1894 and 1905, he builds a comprehensive picture of the revolutionary tendencies of that decade. Political details—both organizations and ideas—are related to social background and the general climate of Chinese politics. Mr. Schiffrin powerfully assists our understanding and the cogency of his interpretations by attending to the context of the ideas and actions of Sun, as well as of the hosts of other figures, reforming and revolutionary, with whom he deals.

Among the problems that Mr. Schiffrin illuminates is the vexing one of Sun's "softness" on Western (and Japanese) imperialism. He shows how unrepresentative of many revolutionary Chinese was Sun's optimism about foreign benevolence toward a revitalized China. He also pinpoints the social and intellectual milieu that encouraged Sun in these attitudes: the overseas and Hong Kong Chinese communities, which were Sun's earliest and firmest bases of support. Sun's great feat as a revolutionary leader was, by 1905, to have reached across the gap between his Kwangtung-peasant, overseas-Chinese background and the revolutionary student intelligentsia, predominantly gentry elite in social background. His success, Mr. Schiffrin shows, owed something to his adoption of anti-imperialist rhetoric when talking to Chinese students and to his assurances that, through his experience and contacts with the West, he could forestall foreign intervention while China had its revolution. His assurances were convincing because only Sun "was so persistent in pursuing such diversified contacts."

Among those contacts—and quite in contrast to his British and Japanese admirers—were the secret societies. Sun's ability to strike arrangements with them had provided the manpower for his uprisings. But, Mr. Schiffrin tells us, Sun developed only "a framework for exploiting but not organizing peasant dissent" and had no conception of "welding [his] lower class allies into an independent political movement. . . ." When socially elite students urged Sun to abandon his reliance on secret

societies and to concentrate instead upon the revolutionary energy of students and the New Army, Sun went only so far as to concede equal emphases. But on the eve of the revolution, in the absence of "an independent political movement" among the lower social strata, organized revolutionary energy was in many places most abundant among the students and New Army officers. We see from Mr. Schiffrin's account how remarkable was Sun's transcendence of his original social distance from these elite groups, and how fragile his revolutionary leadership had to be in what was for him a new social context.

Mr. Gasster has investigated the ideas of the revolutionary intelligentsia in the years immediately following Sun's formal union with them in 1905. He is mainly concerned with the chief ideological spokesmen for the new revolutionary organization (Wang Ching-wei's writings between 1905 and 1907 are given the most concentrated attention), but he devotes special sections to two strains of Chinese anarchism and to Chang Ping-lin, the Buddhistically inclined, revolutionary traditionalist who openly broke with Sun Yat-sen before the revolution. Many American students of early twentieth-century China have been introduced to the ideas contained in the famous revolutionary organ, the *Min Pao*, by Mr. Gasster's doctoral dissertation, whose publication with revisions and additions we welcome here.

The discussions of anarchism and Chang Ping-lin are complementary with but analytically separate from the rest of the book. On his primary subject, the early T'ung-meng Hui writers for the *Min Pao*, Mr. Gasster emphasizes two major points. First, their anti-Manchuism was more than tactical (though it was at the same time "the supreme propaganda weapon"): it rivaled or joined with the anti-imperialism of the first years of the century and became "the core of a new nationalism." But this new nationalism was self-deceiving, allowing the revolutionaries to neglect "the grim but necessary task of deciding exactly what was wrong with the traditional order and not only with those who had lately presided over it." Second, although the aspiration for national power led to accepting the predominance of the state over the individual, the degree of genuine interest in democratic and humanitarian ideals was impressive.

In the end, Mr. Gasster judges the revolutionaries harshly for being revolutionaries: they produced frustrations by raising expectations; they appealed to passions; they generated hate and violence; and so on. If less obsessed with overthrowing the Manchus, he argues, they might have planned better for post-revolutionary construction. Mr. Gasster does not see his own liberal ideals maintained vigorously enough by the revolutionaries, despite their democratic inclinations (indeed, I think he overestimates their liberal commitment), and he expresses his disappointment.

There is little effort in Mr. Gasster's book to link the men and their ideas to their social backgrounds and experiences. Conceptions of "social revolution," for example, or of local self-government might be better interpreted in light of the revolutionaries' social dispositions. Is it more than an educational or intellectual fact that, as he observes, many had strong classical educations?

Mme. Bergère, by contrast, has written deliberately about a particular social class. Her theme is the role of the commercial bourgeoisie in the 1911 Revolution and its aftermath. Of her nine chapters, seven have appeared in English translation in *China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913* (1968) (see the review, *AHR*, LXXV [1970], 900-02). To the conclusion of the first seven chapters that the bourgeoisie, though active on behalf of revolution, were not decisive to its success, she adds in the last two chapters the conclusion that the bourgeoisie's disapproval of the rising against Yuan Shih-k'ai in 1913 was not decisive to its failure. She argues that the

advance in class consciousness and activity that the 1911 Revolution had represented for the emerging bourgeoisie was in a state of temporary disintegration in 1913. Mme. Bergère's fine study should stimulate more work with social movement in the early part of this century in China—a subject in which our level of understanding is low.

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ERNEST P. YOUNG

THE COMINTERN AND THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, 1928–1931. By *Richard C. Thornton*. [Far Eastern and Russian Institute Publications on Asia, Number 20. Sponsored by the Modern Chinese History Project of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 246. \$9.50.)

PROFESSOR Thornton addresses himself to the issue of the “Li Li-san Line,” which guided the Chinese revolutionary movement in 1929–30: “What was Comintern policy during the period? To what extent did the Li Li-san leadership carry out Moscow’s policy? And what policies did Mao Tse-tung pursue?” Making extensive use of both Chinese- and Russian-language materials, Dr. Thornton rejects the “scapegoat thesis” according to which Moscow had instructed Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Politburo chief Li Li-san to achieve the rapid overthrow of the Nationalist regime and then, upon failure of the strategy, had shifted the blame onto him. The author’s own thesis is that the Comintern policy in fact envisaged not immediate nationwide revolution, but protracted struggle; that Li indulged in grave adventurism and “radically deviated from the Comintern line”; and (to oversimplify) that Mao opposed Li’s line and eventually helped to oust him.

Dr. Thornton very effectively answers the first two questions posed. Nevertheless, there are important shortcomings in his work. Given intense concentration on a narrow topic, and a scanty general context for the theme, not only the reader, but evidently the author himself sometimes loses political perspective, and occasionally his interpretations are indefensible. In discussing the Sino-Soviet conflict of 1929 over the Chinese Eastern Railway, he grossly understates the Soviet military strength “in the area,” inferentially assumes a determination on the part of Nanking to confront the Soviet armies with its own troops, and asserts that Moscow ordered an increase of Chinese Communist military activities “apparently” to prevent such action. Disregarding the heavy fighting between Nanking and Feng Yü-hsiang forces in Honan at the peak of the Manchurian crisis in October and November 1929, he concludes (erroneously) that “Activities of the Chinese Communist forces did prevent Kuomintang reinforcements from being sent north. . . .”

Similarly, there is only scanty treatment of the big war of 1930 between Nanking and rival Nationalists; and the author’s grasp of the significance of that development for his whole subject, as reflected on pages 138, 146–47, is patently inadequate. On page 146, there is too loose an interpretation of the meaning of a CCP political resolution of May 1930, and on pages 107–108 a clear misinterpretation of passages from Mao Tse-tung’s letter of January 1930, “A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire.”

Not unnaturally, the author’s brief section entitled “Conclusions” is weak. He offers for the most part only what has already been variously stated in his work, that Li Li-san diverged from the Comintern line. And conclusions he might well have drawn from the evidence of CCP factionalism, from the adventurism of the Li Li-san line, and from the similarities to be discovered between the thinking of Li Li-san in

1929-30 and that of Mao Tse-tung in later periods, were neglected. The work is left so much the poorer.

Finally, in my opinion Dr. Thornton did not satisfactorily answer his third question, that regarding the role of Mao Tse-tung. In diminishing Li's reputation, he, at the same time, added too much to Mao's.

The essay by A. M. Grigorev on "The Comintern and the Revolutionary Movement in China under the Slogan of the Soviets (1928-1930)" contained in the volume *Komintern i Vostok* (*The Comintern and the East* [1969]) makes useful collateral reading on this subject.

New York City

O. EDMUND CLUBB

THE LAND REVOLUTION IN CHINA, 1930-1934: A STUDY OF DOCUMENTS. By *Tso-liang Hsiao*. [Far Eastern and Russian Institute Publications on Asia, Number 18. Sponsored by the Modern Chinese History Project of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 361. \$12.50.)

THIS volume purports to be an annotation of one hundred and seventeen Chinese Communist documents on the land revolution from 1930 to 1934, the period of the Chinese-Soviet Republic. These documents, taken mostly from the Ch'en Ch'eng collection and augmented by records of the Kuomintang's Bureau of Investigation, are arranged more or less chronologically in six sections: Li Li-san's land policy, land policy of the Chu-Mao group, land law of the Chinese-Soviet Republic, the land investigation drive, class analysis, and the end of an epoch. These sections are followed by translations of twenty-six of the documents, a glossary, chronology, and bibliography.

The documents include all the land laws known to have been adopted by various Communist regimes in the period, government and party directives on the implementation of the land laws, and progress reports from various localities. Students of Chinese Communist agrarian programs should find this compilation a convenient index of available but sometimes hard-to-locate source material. The value of the volume, however, is impaired by the uniformly poor annotations. Instead of analyzing and describing the content of the documents, the author injects into his commentaries numerous extraneous and speculative statements, implying that all Communist policies were dictated by the Communist International or were manifestations of intraparty struggles. This certainly limits his perception of the unmistakable patterns of the Communist land reform program.

The translations in general are cumbersome, and without the glossary the rendition of many Chinese Communist terms would have been quite incomprehensible.

Despite the shortcomings mentioned, all students of Chinese Communist history are indebted to Professor Hsiao for his laborious efforts in bringing together in one place all these documents, which will make their own research infinitely easier. It is hoped that similar compilations will be done for other aspects of the Chinese Communist movement, but with more substantial annotations.

Temple University

S. M. CHIU

THE THEORY OF FORCE AND ORGANISATION OF DEFENCE IN INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY: FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO 1947. By *Nagendra Singh*. With foreword by *Sir Eric Fletcher*. (New York: Asia Publishing House. 1969. Pp. xiv, 290. \$17.50.)

THE author's theme is the Indian concept of *danda*, or force, and the manner in which

military power (termed "defence") has been related to civilian authority in the Indian state throughout ancient, medieval, and modern periods. The study provides an important and well-written reference source.

The first section, on ancient India to the seventh century, contains much that is illuminating, especially in the references to European theory. But the argument credits early Indian statecraft with a more pacific outlook than appears warranted by the texts or by practice. It is questionable, for instance, that "the most significant feature of *Manusmṛti* was not the importance attached to the methods of defence in war but to avoid this calamity as far as possible." Compare *Manu* (VII, 99-102): "Let the king strive to gain what he has not gained. . . . What he has not gained, let him seek to gain by his army. . . . Let him be ever ready to strike. . . ." Nonviolence was indeed a classical Indian ideal, but insofar as it applied to the Kshatriya class from which rulers were drawn, it did not condemn warfare as such. In the present Kali Age, peace and nonviolence were viewed as essential individual objectives, but not as enduring realities among nations.

Dr. Singh's analysis of medieval institutions is excellent, both as to the Rajput feudalism that succeeded the collapse of Harsha's administrative system as well as to the Muslim military state. He correctly attributes the failure of Rajput arms in checking Mahmud's invasions to the failure of attempted confederacy rather than to tactical shortcomings. He explains the basis of the Mughal state, in which every civil official held a specific military rank, thus precluding the possibility of "civilian" control of the armed forces.

The problems involved in the East India Company's restraint of British commanders in the field are well illustrated. Civilian leadership was an established principle, but its maintenance required constant vigilance when determined officers faced critical combat situations. The Kitchener-Curzon controversy is carefully researched. The various justifications and rationalizations for the use of armed force against Indian elements are set forth in detail and make interesting reading when contrasted with conventional British versions.

University of California, Santa Barbara

D. MACKENZIE BROWN

AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF ISLAM IN INDIA. By *Aziz Ahmad*. [Islamic Surveys, Number 7.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1969. Pp. x, 226. \$5.00.)

IN contrast to their remarkable achievements in the visual arts, Indian Muslims have contributed little to the intellectual content of Islamic civilization, whether in philosophy, science, metaphysics, or cosmology. India produced no Ibn Sina, no al-Farabi, no Ibn Rushd, and this is not altogether surprising. By the time of the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the early thirteenth century, the creative phase in the intellectual history of Islam was virtually over; in India Sufism grew rank and wild, and Indian Muslims, a minority community on the very fringes of the *Dar al-Islam*, were too preoccupied with the task of clarifying their relationship with the teeming Hindu population in whose midst they lived and with the older Muslim lands to the west to feel much inclination for speculative flights of fancy. Nevertheless, the subject is an important one and hence, at least on first sight, the present book comes as something of a disappointment. The title implies, surely, a history of ideas, a kind of Indian equivalent of Friedrich Heer's *The Intellectual History of Europe*, which this book certainly is not. What we have instead is a very readable handbook that surveys the religious

and cultural life of Indian Muslims down to the present time, describing the history of both Sunni and Shi'a communities, Sufism, messianic movements and popular folk cults, education, literature, and the arts. All this material is deftly put together without any sacrifice of scholarship for the sake of compression, and the author has maintained the exacting standard set by his previous works.

Here and there readers will doubtless feel inclined to take issue with Dr. Ahmad. One may question, for example, the felicity of using the word "theocracy" to describe the rule of Firuz Shah Tughluq and Aurangzeb, and it is likely that the triumph of the Persian language over Chaghatai at the Mughal court was due as much to prior familiarity with and proficiency in Persian and the difficulty of acquiring Chaghatai as to "the influx of Persian poets into India" and "the withering away of Turkish genius." Doubts have recently been raised by Professor H. K. Sherwani regarding the romantic circumstances associated with the foundation of Hyderabad. Again, Shah Alam did not enter sheltered waters in 1765; between that year and 1803, when he became for the last time pensioner of the Company, both he and Delhi experienced some very stormy weather indeed, including his own blinding at the hands of Ghulam Qadir in 1788.

These are, however, minor matters. Taken *in toto*, this is an admirable compilation and a most useful addition to the very small range of titles suitable for students in the field of Muslim India.

*Yale University*

GAVIN HAMBLBY

KĀÑCĪPURAM IN EARLY SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY. By T. V. Mahalingam.  
(New York: Asia Publishing House. 1969. Pp. vii, 243, \$12.00.)

BASED ON six lectures delivered by Professor Mahalingam at the University of Madras in 1963, this volume closely examines the scanty evidence relating to the Pallava dynasty in southern India from the fourth to the tenth centuries. It is an exercise in paleography, but the documents examined are of necessity temple inscriptions and poetry, for the medieval Hindu had no interest in history as that study developed in the Western world. *Kāñcīpuram* is not so much a study of the city (one of the seven sacred cities of Hinduism) as of the Pallavas, and except for the first, its fourteen chapters are all devoted to Pallava rulers. Even so, it is difficult to say much about such a ruler as Paramesvaravarman II (ca. 728–29 to 731–32), of whom only one short inscription, as well as a few other slight references, exist. It becomes more difficult to write with exactness when many of the inscriptions on which the historian is forced to rely are written in double entendre!

Professor Mahalingam has been both patient and astute in unraveling the course of the Pallava dynasty and in summarizing the research that has been done during the last half-century. Nevertheless, as Vincent Smith remarked in *The Oxford History of India* (1958), no book that takes pains to enumerate the many, long, and varied names of Indian rulers can expect a wide audience.

The Pallava kingdom began at about the same time as the Gupta empire and was conquered by Samudragupta, but in the end it outlasted its conquerors by three and a half centuries. And while the kingdom reached a cultural peak of its own, particularly in architecture and religion, it is to be remembered primarily as the forerunner of the more brilliant achievements of the Chola kings who followed.

*Tufts University*

FREELAND ABBOTT



THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By *Robert Payne*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1969. Pp. 703. \$12.95.)

ROBERT Payne's biography of Gandhi has none of the brilliant insights of Erik Erikson's recent study, nor is it based on the patient accumulation of data, buttressed by intimate knowledge of modern India, that makes B. R. Nanda's work so valuable. It is clearly the product of "secondary" reading and draws heavily on the work of other scholars. Yet having said all this, one must acknowledge that it is probably the most comprehensive of the many biographies of Gandhi, fulfilling a useful function by summarizing in readable form the very detailed studies of Pyarelal and Tendulkar and by making judicious use of Gandhi's own writing.

The first third of the book is concerned, properly enough, with Gandhi's early years in England and South Africa, but Payne's emphasis on narrative, rather than analysis, makes this material somewhat wooden. Even the crucial incident where Gandhi is thrown out of the first-class compartment does not come alive; there is little sense that its significance is to be found not in the barbarism of the whites but in the decision of Gandhi to seek redress within the framework of the legal system.

The other great set-pieces—the Amritsar firing, the Salt March, the Round Table Conferences—are handled competently but not very imaginatively. Perhaps the most interesting chapters are those on subjects that have not claimed much attention in books on Gandhi, particularly those written in India. One is the account of his son Harilal. Here, as elsewhere, Payne does not indulge in psychoanalytic probing, although the strange, tortured relationship surely illumines Gandhi's personality. The other is his record of Gandhi's murder, the plot leading to it, and the trial of the assassins. Payne's narrative style here highlights the drama of the events, giving a poignant sense of completion to an extraordinary life.

*Duke University*

AINSLIE T. EMBREE

CURZON IN INDIA. Volume I, ACHIEVEMENT; Volume II, FRUSTRATION.

By *David Dilks*. (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company. 1969; 1970. Pp. 296; 307. \$10.00 each.)

IN 1952 Harold Nicolson wrote of Curzon's Indian career: "To the end of his life he [Curzon] remained convinced that the Cabinet, and especially his old friend, Mr. St. John Brodrick, Secretary of State for India, had treated him shamefully. After seven years as Viceroy he returned to England an angry and embittered man." David Dilks helps explain why. The first volume, subtitled *Achievement*, is a carefully documented account of Curzon's efforts to wrestle with and overcome Indian bureaucracy, of his relations with the India Office, the cabinet and the monarch, and above all of his masterful moves upon the chessboard of power politics, the "great game in Asia," in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. The volume ends on a suitable note: Curzon is about to tackle the problem of army administration before proceeding with his other reforms and with the great imperial Durbar in honor of the coronation of King Edward VII in 1902, which his critics unkindly nicknamed "the Curzonation" Durbar. At this time Curzon wrote to Brodrick of the army, "Had I the time and knowledge I would reform the whole system. I may get some distance with it before I have done." To find the most effective instrument for this reform, Curzon sought the help of Kitchener, the new commander in chief of the Indian Army. This move proved to be his undoing. Appropriately, the second volume is subtitled *Frustration*.

The key to any understanding of Curzon and Indo-British relations at the turn of the century hinges upon the impact of the Boer War, Britain's Vietnam. This war burst as a bombshell upon the placid contemporary scene. Its duration, while pre-occupying the British cabinet intensely from 1899 to 1902, afforded Curzon a unique opportunity for a relatively free hand in India. After the peace was signed, just the reverse situation arose, and Curzon became increasingly subject to cabinet decisions. In the period 1903-1905 relations between the Home and Indian governments steadily eroded, a theme Mr. Dilks splendidly narrates.

Volume II opens with a spirited exposition on the merits of Mr. Brodrick's tenure at the India Office. Here the author has done a thorough job of scholarship by exhaustively combing through private collections of papers, which have broadened our understanding of the complex circumstances leading to Curzon's downfall. He observes that Brodrick's nature endowed him with "a strange and unhappy genius for producing strained situations in his conduct of public business." "With an artless manner went a *mauvaise plaisanterie* so finely developed as to bring joy to the connoisseur."

It was Brodrick who prosecuted the new changes in cabinet policy affecting India in the aftermath of the Boer War. He prided himself on his relations with Kitchener, upon whose reputation as the foremost fighting soldier in the Empire the fate of Balfour's tottering government seemed to depend. This doomed Curzon more than any other single factor.

As far as Indians were concerned, the quarrel with Kitchener meant little in comparison with the partition of Bengal. And yet these two are intertwined in the strange flux and interaction of history. It is the great strength of Mr. Dilks's analysis that he sees the relationship of events in Britain to those in India, though he is on poor ground when he covers purely Indian territory. This is also true, however, of many Indian historians who tend to view the same events solely from an Indian standpoint, as in the eloquent chapter on Curzon in S. Gopal's *British Policy in India, 1858-1905* (1965). Unfortunately, the difficulty again lies in not comprehending the delicate balance, the interaction, the subtle interfacing between British and Indian politics. Here the Kitchener controversy and the partition of Bengal come in. The cabinet decreed that on purely external matters their mandate would be supreme; Kitchener's reforms, as it turned out, were wrongly judged as imperial necessity, and he was accordingly supported in apposition to the viceroy. But in internal matters, as in the question of readjustment of boundaries, the cabinet felt, again wrongly as it turned out, that Curzon's mandate should be supreme. Thus, it came to pass that the partition of Bengal came about as a *quid pro quo* for the decision of the Home government overruling the government of India on the issue of Indian military administration. Though this is wisdom after the event, it is important wisdom if the historian is to gain an accurate picture of how Britain's Indian Empire worked.

It is clear in retrospect that Curzon's viceroyalty closed, rather than opened, an epoch and that his energies and high imperial fervor were largely in opposition to the tendencies of his age. Yet the creation of the modern Indian state owes much to his Herculean labors and creative accomplishments. This biography is a tribute of the first rank to the author and his subject and will prove to be a mine of invaluable information to the specialist of modern Indian history.

Georgetown University

JOHN LYDGATE

## Americas

## FRENCH-IROQUOIS DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY RELATIONS, 1609-1701.

By *Robert A. Goldstein*. [Studies in American History, Number 9.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1969. Pp. 208, 3 maps. 34 gls.)

STUDENTS of early American and Canadian history will be grateful to the Mouton Press of The Hague for publishing this detailed history of French-Iroquois relations in the seventeenth century. Francis Parkman, it will be recalled, narrated a large portion of the French-Iroquois story, showing how the Anglo-Dutch fur-trading interests strengthened Iroquois power. George Hunt's *The Wars of the Iroquois* stressed the role of the Iroquois as middlemen in the fur trade. Goldstein relies on both Parkman and Hunt in his interpretations. More than anything else, however, he gives us a one-volume blow-by-blow account of war, peace negotiations, treachery, attack, and counterattack. There were, it appears, four major peace treaties between the Iroquois and the French between 1645 and 1673, each followed by renewed hostilities such as extended Iroquois wars with the Huron and Illinois Indians. The book closes with a description of events leading up to another peace treaty in 1701, which, as the author acknowledges in his conclusion, was the beginning of still another era of French-Iroquois peace and war. The eighteenth-century conflicts between the French and Iroquois ended after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, when Canada came under English rule.

What was all the fighting about? Goldstein convincingly argues that the French were defending the very existence of their colony. Iroquois wars disrupted the fur trade, the mission system, and the agricultural life of the colonists. Iroquois attacks were based upon calculated self-interest. In fact, the Iroquois had little choice but to accept their role as middlemen in the English fur trade.

As a reference work the book could have been made more useful by the addition of an index. The bibliography and notes indicate that although the author made use of pertinent published documents, he did not investigate manuscript material. Fortunately, key Paris archival material is included in the published documents he consulted. The author's narrative is clear, despite the complexities of border warfare and treaty-making. Indeed, this excellent study shows that seventeenth-century French-Iroquois relations fall into a series of clearly defined eras that are highlighted by a half-dozen significant treaties.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

WILBUR R. JACOBS

THE UNITED STATES AND HUERTA. By *Kenneth J. Grieb*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 233. \$7.95.)

THE confrontation of Victoriano Huerta and Woodrow Wilson, viewed as a test of the latter's diplomacy of morality, is the subject of this monograph by Professor Grieb. The result is a critical appraisal of a policy attributed to faulty reasoning and misinformation about the Mexican situation and that in the name of morality followed an immoral course of intervention in the internal affairs of the neighboring nation through the successive steps of nonrecognition, diplomatic pressure, encouragement of the revolutionary opposition, and finally military action.

This is probably the most detailed account to date of the diplomatic negotiations between the two nations; it is solidly based on United States, British, and Mexican

archival materials. However, the study is weakened by a tendency to defend and justify Huerta, Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson and British policy, while taking a jaundiced view of the revolutionary opposition all too often justified on the basis of embassy dispatches, pro-Huerta newspapers in the Mexican capital, and antiadministration publications in the United States. Equally serious is the writer's tendency to make flat-footed, debatable assertions of generalized views and hypothetical suggestions of "what might have happened if." In this category I would place Dr. Grieb's assertion that Huerta's seizure of power and method of rule differed little from other governments of the revolutionary era. Professor Grieb would be hard pressed to justify his position comparing the Huerta regime with its immediate predecessor, betrayed and destroyed by Huerta.

Similarly challengable is his assertion that even if Ambassador Wilson had taken strenuous steps to insure the safety of Madero, it is unlikely that the course of events would have changed. Grieb's assertions that things might have turned out differently if Huerta himself could have assumed field command and that Huerta's government could have provided stability and the re-establishment of the Porfirian peace suggests that the author has not examined with the same critical eye the suggestions for a realistic policy that he has applied to the moralistic one actually employed. Even more significant is the tendency to ignore the basis and impact of the revolutionary force that had been unleashed in Mexico and that was in the process of destroying the old regime beyond any hope of repair or re-establishment.

*University of Texas, Austin*

STANLEY R. ROSS

DEMOGRAPHY IN EARLY AMERICA: BEGINNINGS OF THE STATISTICAL MIND, 1600-1800. By *James H. Cassedy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 357. \$8.50.)

To appreciate what this book is about, it will perhaps be most helpful to indicate first what it is not about. America of the colonial period and the early days of the Union produced little work of distinction in the field of statistical demography—nothing to compare, for example, with the work of Gregory King in England, Alexander Webster in Scotland, or the Tabellkommission in Sweden. A very high proportion of the amateur scholars whose necessarily ham-fisted quantifying Dr. Cassedy surveys produced nothing of real value to the modern historical demographer, and even some of the major figures in his story, like Benjamin Franklin, really had very little to contribute beyond some enthusiastic antiquarianism. For most of this period, curiosity about population statistics led only to sporadic ecclesiastical registration of baptisms, burials, and marriages, or to aggregation of these data by journalists for what are now, unfortunately, indeterminate populations of particular cities. Modern historical demographers can apply their latest techniques to these exiguous sources in the slender hope of extracting meaningful demographic information from them, but Dr. Cassedy is concerned only to trace the evolution of the "statistical *mind*," and not to study the historical demography of the colonial period. Nor is he explicitly surveying the sources for American historical demography, as Hollingsworth has recently done, for example, for much of the rest of the world. As Potter has shown, some of the most interesting material for the colonial period, originating from London, was not indigenous and thus falls outside Dr. Cassedy's self-imposed boundaries. Moreover, the survey is done almost entirely at second hand. Dr. Cassedy does not appear to have

examined for himself any of the extensive, if heterogeneous, manuscript material he is describing, being content to work from record publications or the secondary literature.

In restricting his field in these ways, Dr. Cassedy has left himself rather an arid task. The very nature of early European settlement in North America militated against the success of demographic enquiry. In spite of persistent efforts to impose some kind of uniformity, the early settlers were too independent, too schismatic, and too scattered to permit the duplication of a European system of parochial registration. Even when occasional enthusiasts broke through the barriers of indifference and geography to satisfy their statistical curiosity, it was clear that it was not the enumeration of the whole population that attracted their attention, but only a part of it; nobody seriously expected to treat the Indians and African slaves with the same degree of quantitative exactitude. Thus, Dr. Cassedy does not have much to get his teeth into until he reaches that period when the more serious business of representation and taxation obliged the new nation to adopt a realistic approach to the complexities of population enumeration. For the remainder of the volume—and the colonial period occupies most of his book—Dr. Cassedy catalogues the early statistical gropings scrupulously enough. His study is clearly written and well balanced; but it is disappointingly unambitious.

University of Edinburgh

M. W. FLINN

THE RISE OF AMERICAN COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISE: 1620-1920. By Joseph G. Knapp. (Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers. 1969. Pp. 532. \$8.95.)

JOSEPH Knapp has worked on farms and cattle ranches, received an education in land-grant colleges and in leading public and private agricultural research centers, and acted as administrator of the Farmer Cooperative Service of the US Department of Agriculture between 1953 and 1966. This background undoubtedly explains why *American Cooperative Enterprise* is about farmer cooperatives. Contrary to the suggestion of the title, the book does not cover the parameters of American cooperative enterprise. Scholars interested in the cooperatives formed by the Knights of Labor, for example, should continue to use the traditional works of Norman Ware and Gerald Grob and not depend on the few pages Knapp provides them.

A few more words on what this book is not about will help anyone interested in agricultural cooperatives. Knapp does not attempt, as has Theodore Saloutos, to weigh the reasons why farmers formed cooperative business organizations against the reasons why they often abandoned such efforts to work for political reform. Nor does Knapp set the farmer's adjustments to industrialism and capitalism against the more radical content of farmer movements, as Chester McArthur Destler has done. Finally, Knapp avoids the clarion call of Richard Hofstadter, that more research is needed in rural behavioralism before we can understand the actions of farmers.

But to do what Saloutos or Destler or Hofstadter would have done was not Knapp's intention. In avoiding the scholastic paths they have taken, he traces clearly and concisely the evolution of business organization and management in farm cooperative enterprise. Farmer cooperatives, Knapp is convinced, "grew up naturally and spontaneously in many areas and under differing conditions in response to economic and social problems." Armed with this theme, Knapp explores the variety of cooperatives organized by farmers. Devoting all but a score of the book's pages to the period 1860-

1920, the author explains why hundreds of different marketing, commodity, and purchasing cooperatives adopted the Rochdale system of cooperative enterprise.

Spawned in disillusion over obvious inefficiencies in private processing, marketing, and purchasing agencies, late nineteenth-century farmer cooperatives were imaginative, innovative, and adaptive. They had to be. Farmers split along lines drawn by geography, crop specialization, and ethnic background, to name but a few. Cooperatives faced stiff competition from private enterprisers who cut prices sharply to farmers when cooperatives threatened their business. Either farmers' cooperatives adjusted to such adverse circumstances or they failed. The successful ones, as Knapp shows through an impressive catalogue of cooperative adventures, adopted most of the Rochdale principles: strict cash operation, the payment of dividends according to patronage, and the "one man, one vote" system in reaching policy decisions.

When Knapp follows successful cooperative enterprises into the twentieth century he draws the reader's attention to their growing sophistication: cooperatives now established research bureaus, advertising agencies, market information services, and public relations boards. Spurred by successes in agricultural marketing, groups of farmers extended the cooperative idea into insurance, banking, chain store, and telephone ventures. Knapp then links the broadening business of farmer cooperatives with the educational and promotional activities carried on in behalf of cooperatives by public institutions. And he notes that in some areas of the nation, most notably California and particularly the California Fruit Growers Exchange, success was greater and activities more sweeping.

Knapp has written an intelligent and useful account of business management in American farmer cooperatives. He is at work on a second volume, covering the years 1920 to the present. Together the two volumes should provide testimony to the relentless search of farmers for business practices suitable to their economy.

*Rutgers University, Newark*

HARRY C. McDEAN

THE BYRDS OF VIRGINIA. By *Alden Hatch*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1969. Pp. xvi, 535. \$10.00.)

WRITING family history is a difficult task that taxes the skill of the most competent historian. In his account of the Byrd family, "An American Dynasty, 1670 to the Present," Mr. Hatch incorporates errors that have characterized amateur and many professional efforts in this area.

Mr. Hatch has written less a family history than biographical sketches of three individuals named Byrd: William Byrd II, Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, and Senator Harry F. Byrd. Family history, however, is more than the sum of its biographical parts. What is significant is the influence of the family connection. Bypassed by the author is the problem of the Byrd family culture, the family style, and the source in the family culture of Byrd achievement. These are critical problems in family historiography, and while they are difficult to resolve, they should not be ignored.

What justification is there for including within the confines of a single volume William Byrd II, whose career is separated by more than two centuries from those of Admiral Byrd and Senator Byrd? Why label the result family history or the history of an American "dynasty" when the relationship between William on the one hand and Richard and Harry on the other is so remote? What of the other Byrds who receive only passing notice? What of the non-achieving Byrds who are totally ignored? Family history ought not to be equated with achieving individuals who bear the



family name. There is, I guess, some reason for writing about only three offshoots of an enormously prolific genealogical tree. The result, however, should be identified by some other name than family history.

A more important problem is why some members of a family achieve and others do not. Mr. Hatch notes a gap of one hundred and fifty years, separating William Byrd II from Richard and Harry, when the Byrds played little or no role on the American scene. One would like to have his speculations as to why there was this hiatus in achievement and what caused the revival of the Byrds in the generation of Richard and Harry.

If William Byrd II could have been made out to be what the sociologists call a "reference ancestor" for the admiral and the senator, this could have given the volume a theme centered in the family culture. This appears not to be the case, however, at least from the evidence presented by Hatch, whose central theme, therefore, remains an accident of genealogy.

It is possible that American family cultures generally—a notable exception is the Adams family—tend to be weak and to have little influence upon career lines. This may be true of the Byrds, but from Hatch's uninspired and unanalytical presentation it is difficult to tell. At any rate, the author sees fit to ignore this problem.

The biographical sketches are not very strong. For William Byrd II, Hatch relies, as is inevitable, upon the work of Professor Louis B. Wright and gives the existing evidence no new twists. In his portraits of Richard E. and Harry F. Byrd, there is evidence that Hatch has received the cooperation of the Byrd family and friends. The evidence thus credited, however, is largely anecdotal and of the human interest variety. There are no fresh finds of letters or other memorabilia bearing upon the public careers of either the admiral or the senator. Moreover, there is no evidence that Mr. Hatch has used to any extent some of the more recent scholarly work in Virginia politics, notably J. H. Wilkinson's *Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics 1945-1966*.

The emphasis of the volume is upon the Byrds as personalities, and Hatch, despite some passing recognition of their faults, is a great admirer of them. Actually, it is difficult to make likeable people out of the admiral and the senator, and the sympathetic folksiness that enters into Mr. Hatch's style of presentation does not enhance the portraits.

State University of New York, Fredonia

EDWARD N. SAVETH

EARLY STATIONARY STEAM ENGINES IN AMERICA: A STUDY IN THE MIGRATION OF A TECHNOLOGY. By *Carroll W. Pursell, Jr.* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press; distrib. by Random House, New York. 1969. Pp. viii, 152. \$6.75.)

AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVES: AN ENGINEERING HISTORY, 1830-1880. By *John H. White, Jr.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. xxiii, 504. \$20.00.)

In the much-explored history of the steam engine and its application to nineteenth-century American demands for more efficient forms of industrial power, these contrasting volumes provide much new information and valuable insights.

The stationary steam engine has found its first historian in Pursell. In this brief narrative, he has dated and identified those responsible for bringing steam engines from England to America after 1753, measured the extent and nature of the engine's application here, and identified consequent changes that emerged in our industrial

life. Often neglected as an appropriate subject for study because of popular interest in steamboats and locomotives, stationary steam engines were used by 1838 in printing mills, tanneries, foundries, gristmills, distilleries, and textile mills in both rural and urban settings. These engines "migrated" along with the population from the cities of the Middle Atlantic states to the West and South; they eventually supplanted water-power in New England. First Philadelphia, then New York and Pittsburgh became centers for their manufacture, but Cincinnati and Louisville did not lag far behind. By the 1830's, engine builders such as Matthias Baldwin, Joseph Harrison, James P. Allaire, and Paul A. Sabaton had begun to standardize their designs and sell—in both domestic and foreign markets—a product comparable to those of English origin. Using the written document rather than "statistics made for the occasion," Pursell holds that the introduction of the steam engine was responsible for a "phenomenal growth" in both coal and iron production. Further, since steam power was available in any amount at almost any location, it "liberated" industry from its reliance upon streams and rivers (New Castle County, Delaware, is offered as an example). Finally, the need for boiler plate, large castings, and accurate boring machinery precipitated important changes in the metal-trade industry and contributed to the emerging demand for uniform parts.

The locomotive, both English and American, has been studied in numerous popular and scholarly accounts; White's comprehensive, definitive volume is the first to investigate its early engineering history in America. Designed as a reference work for persons acquainted with the history and construction of locomotives, it is much concerned with designs and builders but little with economic consequences and business strategies. What was wanted were low-cost engines that could be made from cheap materials and with a minimum of auxiliary apparatus but that could offer great power, durability, stability, and ease of maintenance. Working from the limited documentation that is available (unlike those of steamboats, few working drawings of early locomotives have survived), the evolution of the 4-2-0, 4-4-0, and 4-6-0 is effectively illustrated by photographs, drawings, and engravings. Builders tended to be conservative in their perspective and usually retained successful designs; occasionally some experimented with novel ideas for special-purpose engines. Boilers, boiler accessories, and running gears are described and evaluated from a technical point of view, and their details are set forth in dozens of excellent illustrations. More than twenty representative locomotives, from the Stourbridge Lion (1829) to the Baldwin Ten Wheeler (1870), are studied in depth. Brief biographical sketches of thirty-five locomotive builders and designers, a chronology of American locomotives from 1795 to 1875, and a first-rate annotated bibliography complete this important contribution to the history of transportation technology.

*West Chester State College*

ROBERT E. CARLSON

DR. ALEXANDER GARDEN OF CHARLES TOWN. By *Edmund Berkeley* and *Dorothy Smith Berkeley*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 379. \$10.00.)

THE Berkeleys have written a biography of Alexander Garden that seems likely to cause a shift of emphasis in the usual view of Anglo-American natural science. Fifteen years ago Whitfield Bell wrote in *Early American Science: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, "Not very much is known about this physician whose name was given to a beautiful and once-rare flower." The *enfant terrible* of North American botany was the

virtually unschooled John Bartram. Two years later Brooke Hindle in *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* had much more to say about Garden, but Bartram continued to dominate the stage. Inevitably associated with Bartram was Peter Collinson, the principal London correspondent for many American naturalists and apparently the major European distributor of New World seeds and specimens.

Now the Berkeleys have demonstrated that Alexander Garden deserves a place equal to Bartram's, and Collinson must share the stage in London with John Ellis. As between Bartram and Garden, the former was far more widely traveled and certainly the more important collector. At Philadelphia Bartram lived in the intellectual capitol of Anglo-America, while Garden was virtually isolated from it in distant Charleston. Yet as a scientist Bartram remained a primitive. "Surely John is a worthy man," Garden wrote of his close friend; "but to give the title of King's Botanist to a man who can scarcely spell . . . appears rather hyperbolic."

Garden himself became an accomplished botanist, capable of expert classification. He also collected and helped classify fishes and amphibians. While the quantity of his work was smaller than Bartram's, the scientific quality was of a different order altogether. Garden's distinct abilities and their wide recognition in Europe make us change the traditional view that the best Anglo-American naturalists were essentially untrained collectors.

Garden's sarcastic remarks about planter society have been often quoted. He himself, nevertheless, developed a provincial frame of mind: "Good God, you must have a droll set of large periwigged doctors in London!" he wrote Ellis; "I would not forego the pleasure that I have in freedom, for all the gorgeous shackles of their jogtrot practice." The Americanization of Alexander Garden did not, however, survive the War for Independence, and the biography that describes his life opens a wide window onto the provincial culture in which he grew rich and famous, but which in the end he rejected.

University of Texas, Austin

MICHAEL G. HALL

THE UNWELCOME IMMIGRANT: THE AMERICAN IMAGE OF THE CHINESE, 1785-1882. By *Stuart Creighton Miller*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. x, 259. \$6.95.)

*The Unwelcome Immigrant* opens up new dimensions to our understanding of the causes of Chinese exclusion (1882) as well as general anti-Oriental attitudes which came to prevail in the United States in the late nineteenth century. Miller concludes: "Californians did not have to expend much effort in convincing their compatriots that the Chinese would make undesirable citizens. The existing image of the Chinese in America had already done it for them. For decades American traders, diplomats, and Protestant missionaries had developed and spread conceptions of Chinese deceit, cunning, idolatry, despotism, xenophobia, cruelty, infanticide, and intellectual and sexual perversity."

The study, which was originally begun as a doctoral dissertation at Columbia, is divided into three parts: "The Inside Dopesters [traders, diplomats, missionaries] and China's Image"; "Events in China [such as the Opium War, the Taiping rebellion, and the "Arrow" war] and the Chinese Image"; and "Developments in the United States and the Chinese Image." In some ways Part 3 is the most original and interesting. Here Miller discusses the main currents of nineteenth-century American thought and shows how each of them developed a peculiarly negative application to the Chi-

nese. Thus after 1865 anti-slavery sentiment became anti-coolie sentiment; developing interest in theories of racial differentiation turned attention to "Mongolian" strangeness; and in the mounting campaign against dirt and disease, Chinese were discovered to be "filthy" and their diseases "loathsome." The discussion in Part 1 of the side effects on America of British and Dutch missions to China is also very keen and informative.

Indeed the whole book makes fascinating reading. Miller deftly and urbanely fits together the pieces of American provincialism and prejudice until the point clearly emerges that it was not only the California racist, but the whole spectrum of national opinion, up to and including the editors of the *New York Times* and the president of Cornell University, who shared anti-Chinese attitudes.

It should be pointed out, however, that quite possibly Miller exaggerates the degree of American Sinophobia, which he regards as almost total by the 1870's. He uses a wide variety of contemporary American sources, especially journals and newspapers, which produce plenty of evidence pointing in that direction, but he also employs a few rhetorical devices. He has a charming way of topping off a paragraph or two of discussion with a particularly absurd quotation from a missionary publication, and he uses the term "Celestials" in an ironic fashion throughout.

The Stephen Girard papers in Philadelphia, which Miller did not use but which I have become familiar with through the work of one of my students, Mr. Jonathan Goldstein, seem to contain a very favorable image of the Chinese traders with whom Girard dealt. Also, a recently completed Harvard Ph.D. dissertation by Edward D. Graham entitled "American Ideas of a Special Relationship with China, 1794-1900" seems to indicate that Miller's findings on Sinophobia must be tempered somewhat before that phenomenon is fully understood. But Miller has opened up the problem in a broad and significant way, for which he deserves much credit.

*University of Pennsylvania*

HILARY CONROY

POLES IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND TRADITION. By *Joseph A. Wyrwal*. (Detroit: Endurance Press. 1969. Pp. 485. \$6.75.)

If *Poles in American History and Tradition* was to be an improvement over Wyrwal's mediocre 1961 work, *America's Polish Heritage*, regrettably the result was an even greater failure. With no preface or introduction indicating his purpose, Wyrwal here offers his audience little more than a memorial to certain Polish-American luminaries. This highly filiopietistic effort, then, is a throwback to the older immigrant surveys, inexcusable in an author who is a trained sociologist.

The table of contents itself reveals the omnipresent ancestor worship; one-half of the 400-odd pages concerns the pre-1870 era, before the immigrant masses arrived. Wyrwal gives excessive attention to the familiar exploits of kinsmen in the Revolution, devoting fully sixty pages largely to Kosciuszko and Pulaski. Further on the gallery of heroes grows with other soldiers, intellectuals, artists, athletes, and even war mothers. Yet with all these references, Wyrwal oddly neglects group leaders, a listing that could have given his work real value. Except for sections on Paderewski and Rozmarek, we have only glimpses of Smulski, Rhode, Hodur, Kiotbassa, and Kruszk and no mention at all of Barzynski, Pitass, Dyniewicz, and Fronczak.

Quite possibly the reason for these omissions is Wyrwal's superficial use of both English and Polish sources. He bases his work on antiquated texts and master's theses while eschewing such rich materials as the Polish-American press. More astonishing

is his ignoring Kruszk's early history and the scholarship of Thomas and Znaniecki, Fox, Wloszczewski, Wiczerzak, Carpenter, Gordon, and Peter Roberts, among others.

At rare speculative moments, Wyrwal makes sweeping though questionable assertions without adequate verification. That Polish peasants were devoid of skills, learning, and industrial experience and were imported to depress wages are observations that require proof. His definition of cultural pluralism as ethnic isolation is simply wrong.

While an occasional section is fresh and novel, like the chapter on Poles in the American military, the study merely adds to a literature that still pleads for better scholarship on this large but neglected minority.

*Kansas State University*

VICTOR GREENE

TO THE HARTFORD CONVENTION: THE FEDERALISTS AND THE ORIGINS OF PARTY POLITICS IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1789-1815. By James M. Banner, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1970. Pp. xiii, 378, xii. \$8.95.)

Why did twenty-six New England Federalists travel to Hartford in 1814? What brought them that far—and no farther? This intricate “essay in causation” offers an answer in four parts. The prime mover, in the author’s opinion, was a republican ideology that valued order, stability, tradition, deference, property, limited government, and an unlimited sense of New England’s moral superiority. Second, the social base of this belief pattern, though still “large and heterogeneous,” was beginning to crumble in the Jeffersonian era. Third, there was a corrosive rivalry between two sets of conservative leaders—ministers who had to “raise their voices in order to be heard” and magistrates who sought to “legitimate their claims to leadership” in a democratizing polity. Fourth, the growth of party structure exposed political leaders to the pressure of opinion, but also provided them with the institutional means of managing it. Party organization made a trip to Hartford necessary, but it also made a moderate solution possible.

The merit of this interpretation consists in the refinement, rather than revision, of existing interpretations. There is a kind of quiet excellence that consists in fairness, restraint, and maturity of judgment. Mr. Banner’s book possesses all of these estimable qualities in an eminent degree. His discussion of the “intellectual origins of Massachusetts Federalism” makes intelligent connections with recent work on the Revolution. His analysis of the social sources and institutional structure of the Federal Party adds important detail to present understandings. And the sections on politics and religion are the most thoughtful parts of the book.

But the merits of the book are outweighed by its major defects. First, except for the discussion of religion, there is not an original thought in nearly four hundred pages. The major conceptual terms of this monograph are borrowed from a dozen other monographs. Sometimes the author challenges other scholars’ answers, but not their questions. He merely decants his major ideas from one academic vessel into another. A little sediment is removed, but nothing of substance is added.

Second, the author has failed to command his materials. His interpretation rests precariously upon conventional epistolary sources, broadsides, a few pamphlets, and some useful quantitative work in the appendixes. He makes little use of newspapers (except the *Centinel* and the *Palladium*), or of manuscripts other than those of first-rank Federal leaders, or of town and church records, or of a massive polemical literature, or of relevant economic and demographic data. For a study restricted to a

single party in a single state, mostly during a single decade, the research is very thin.

Third, in the first three chapters, Federalist thought is discussed, despite disclaimers, as if it were the product of a single intelligence. There are many voices and several strategies, but only a single "Federalist mind." The author appears to doubt the importance of variations in space and time. But his homogenizing method disguises them from his own understanding. The Federal Party was surely an entity, but it was not an intellect. Common commitments coexisted with a range of significant differences. The author's simplifying method prevents a precise discrimination of norms and variations.

Fourth, the interpretation of the social sources of Massachusetts Federalism is largely extrapolated from a study of party leaders and from the usual impressionistic evidence. The results are less satisfactory than the fine work of Robinson fifty years ago.

Fifth, even as a study of Federal leaders, the accuracy of the interpretation is diminished by areal and generational biases. Prominent elderly Eastern Federalists dominate the book more than they ever dominated their party or their section. The author appears to have little familiarity with Western Federalists other than Strong and Sedgwick or with younger Federalists other than Otis, Quincy, and Sullivan.

Sixth, and perhaps most fundamental, the inquiry is at cross-purposes with itself in the author's simultaneous attempt to write a book about New England sectionalism and about the Federal Party in Massachusetts. He seeks an explanation for the calling of the Hartford Convention primarily within a history of leading Federalists, and he tries to find an understanding of the Federalists primarily within a narrative of their intellectual journey to Hartford. The method is doubly dysfunctional.

Consider the problem of the sectional movement. Its locus was surely not the state of Massachusetts, as the author asserts, but the Connecticut Valley. And its adherents were not primarily party leaders of the first rank. One wonders why the Connecticut Valley periodically erupted in the Great Awakening, the Revolution, Shays's Rebellion, and the crisis of 1814, only to return each time to a social condition which Timothy Dwight could celebrate as a model of order and stability. The answer to this question cannot be reckoned in the author's political calculus. The Connecticut Valley in 1814 was afflicted with an impressive variety of troubles—intense demographic pressures, serious economic strains, an epidemic of the "throat distemper" that calls to mind events of 1739, and a weather cycle that from 1812 to 1816 was perhaps the worst New England has known. This is not to suggest that the Hartford Convention was a mindless reflex of drought, disease, flood, and frost, but rather that there were enormous psychic and intellectual tensions in New England communities that were periodically released by these triggers, with results as various as the Awakening, the Rebellion, and the Hartford Convention. The sectional movement was, in a sense, a revolution that refused to boil. A vast and growing literature on conflict, violence, and revolution offers interpretative opportunities that Mr. Banner failed to seize.

One wonders why the crisis of 1814 took the form it did. Why a sectional explosion? The author offers the conventional answer, but there are others. New England's internal communications, for example, improved radically from 1790 to 1814, beyond comparable gains in external connections. Perhaps a sense of sectional unity flourished at the moment of maximal disparity between internal and external communications.

In short, the author's interpretation, within its limits, is intelligent and judicious. But its limits are too narrow, both in conceptualization and research.

*Brandeis University*

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER



THE ROOTS OF THE MODERN AMERICAN EMPIRE: A STUDY OF THE GROWTH AND SHAPING OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN A MARKET-PLACE SOCIETY. By *William Appleman Williams*. (New York: Random House. 1969. Pp. xxiv, 546. \$15.00.)

IN the writing of American diplomatic history no one has more systematically and indefatigably sought to uncover the links between economic interest and the decisions that have shaped American foreign policy than William Appleman Williams. This volume, like his previous books, seeks to account for the rise of American imperialism, which, though it is nowhere specifically defined, apparently includes economic expansion abroad as well as territorial acquisition. Earlier Williams had emphasized the influence of industrial interests in causing the United States to turn outward. In the present book, however, Williams traces the roots of empire to farmers, or the agricultural businessmen, as he aptly calls them. It was the agricultural majority, with its relentless search for markets, that pushed the United States into imperialism. The growth of that movement is traced from the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century through a mass of public and private sources. As in his earlier works, Williams concludes that the Open Door notes "committed the power and the prestige of the United States to the principles of self-determination and the open market-place"; he now adds that those notes "were the formal expression of an outlook and a policy that the agricultural majority had advocated since before the Civil War."

The book makes evident that for almost a century before "The Great Aberration" of 1898, American farmers were dedicated to expansion—economic if possible and territorial if necessary—in order to obtain markets for their mounting surpluses. The urban, metropolitan leaders who are usually associated with formulating and carrying out imperialistic policies are seen here as merely following the lead of the farmers. Thus, Mr. Williams links domestic social history and foreign policy as few diplomatic historians have done before. (Whether the connection is successfully established is another question to which I will return.) He also rightly emphasizes that more was involved than simply a concern for the pocketbook. The principles of freedom and of self-determination may have been fostered by the market society, but, once developed, the ideas took on a life of their own, to be advanced without necessary reference to their economic source. To that extent Mr. Williams has broken out of the narrow economic interest approach that in earlier books has often characterized and flawed his analysis of the motives behind foreign policy decisions.

Does the book persuade? As already suggested, several of his important arguments are certainly established. There is no doubt in my mind that farmers argued hard and long for foreign markets: the almost benumbing plethora of quotations that Williams has culled from agricultural journals and other sources assures that conclusion, even if the point is not so novel that it requires such overkill. I am convinced—as I was before I read the book—that "the war against Spain was a war of the majority of the American people." Moreover, I also believe that the Open Door notes epitomized the two chief principles of American foreign policy in the twentieth century, namely a desire for free access to markets and a belief in the value of freedom and of self-determination for all nations.

Despite Mr. Williams' mass of quotations, however, I am not convinced that the "lone battle of the agricultural businessmen for overseas market-place expansion played the principal role in the development and adoption of an imperial outlook and policy." And the reason I am not convinced is that I do not believe one narrow motive,

even when felt by a large social group, explains a policy or a series of national actions. Is there no place in an explanation of the coming of the Spanish-American War, for example, for humanitarianism, a sense of mission, a foolish sentimentality, or a prideful nationalism? Must the whole complicated business be reduced, as I fear Mr. Williams does reduce it, to a desire for Cuban markets? Nor am I convinced by a mere heaping up of quotations, some of which are obviously taken out of context, that government officials, when they formulated policy, were influenced primarily by their concern for agricultural markets. That the need entered their heads, I have no doubt—the evidence is more than amply supplied by Mr. Williams—but I am not persuaded that it controlled them, as Mr. Williams' single-minded attention to that motive contends. A different kind of evidence and approach is required.

In the end, the book tries to prove too much. The political history of the century, for instance, is tailored to support the thesis, and in the process the broad economic interpretation is forgotten. In its place appears a narrow economic interest explanation, in which depressions, particular crises, or other pocketbook issues are pointed to as the sources of policy decisions. Thus in discussing the antebellum years, Mr. Williams' explanations are reminiscent of the economic determinism of Charles Beard. The coming of the Civil War is pictured as the result of the struggle between North and South for access to the lands of the West, while the support of the Union by the Middle West is explained by that section's fear that secession would cut it off from access to the sea.

In abandoning the broad economic interpretation, Williams considerably weakens his argument. Farmers may have constituted a majority of the population, but an argument resting merely upon the farmers' immediate economic interest cannot explain why urban workers also supported imperialism. In fact, if one's explanatory framework is economic interest, then the support of imperialism by urban groups in general is difficult to explain. What is the interest of the urban masses in finding markets for farmers, when a *lack* of markets for them might have driven down farm prices and thereby lowered food and clothing prices? Yet urban dwellers apparently supported imperialism in the 1890's, as they supported McKinley in both of his elections.

Because Williams emphasizes economic interest rather than capitalist world view as the source of imperialism, his analysis of politics at the end of the century differs sharply and rather unconvincingly from better known interpretations of the period. As I have already implied, his approach perforce plays down or ignores urban-rural rivalry in the 1890's. In the Williams interpretation, the election of 1896 becomes a contest over how best to market the farmers' surpluses, with free silver a means for breaking England's financial dominance of the world market. McKinley's victory in 1896 is attributed largely to his emphasis upon reciprocity in trade, which, in turn, is seen as a strategy devised earlier by James G. Blaine for winning the farm vote while keeping the advantages of the protective tariff for manufacturers. In such an approach McKinley remains a bimetallist right down to his election as President. Although his victory in 1896 is attributed to farm support, no fresh analyses of election returns are reported to revise the contrary findings of previous studies. Amazingly enough, in one place Mr. Williams suggests that the Democrats might have won in 1896 and become the majority party once again, if they had only given adequate recognition to the farmers' interest in foreign markets. How that result could have been achieved in a society soon to be urban in numbers as it was already urban in outlook is not clear. In short, any gain that might come from viewing farmers as one more important force compelling Americans at the end of the nineteenth century

to look beyond their boundaries is lost by the almost obsessive effort to make this force the primary and sufficient cause. There is neither the theoretical need for, nor the possibility of fitting all of politics and foreign policy into that narrow causal explanation.

Despite the rigidity of his framework and his admitted radicalism, Mr. Williams, in a candid and personal preface and epilogue, makes evident that he is no determinist. He says quite explicitly that the United States could have escaped imperialism if only the farmers had willed a different cause. Of that point I am not convinced either, but then I am not a radical, and determinism is today of necessity a conservative, not a radical posture. It was arch-conservative Joseph Schumpeter who wrote almost a generation ago, "Things economic and social move by their own momentum and the ensuing situations compel individuals and groups to behave in certain ways whatever they may wish to do—not indeed by destroying their freedom of choice but by shaping the choosing mentalities and by narrowing the list of possibilities from which to choose."

*Stanford University*

CARL N. DEGLER

JEFFERSON THE PRESIDENT: FIRST TERM, 1801-1805. By *Dumas Malone*. [Jefferson and His Time, Volume IV.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1970. Pp. xxix, 539. \$10.00.)

In this, the fourth volume of his definitive life of Thomas Jefferson, Dumas Malone maintains the high standards of scholarship, literary grace, and interpretive skills that so distinguished his earlier volumes. This narrative of Jefferson during his first administration, depicting both the president and the man, is a superb work, replete with authoritative judgments that must command respect even when they do not quite end the controversies that surround this enigmatic figure.

Malone interprets Jefferson's first presidency as an effort to restore the "spirit of 1776," which meant respect for the sovereignty of the people, for personal liberties, for republicanism, and for limited and balanced government. This was the "Revolution of 1800." Translated into domestic policy, it meant minimal government, the elimination of all internal taxes, drastic reductions in expenditures—chiefly at the expense of the army and navy—and the rapid payment of the national debt.

The restoration of the "spirit of 1776" also implied a new style for the government. The pomp and ceremony that had characterized the Federalist administrations were replaced by republican simplicity, as personified by Jefferson when he walked to his inauguration, received visitors in homely dress, or outraged the British Minister by insisting that all guests in his home stood on a basis of complete equality. The new era should have produced measures to make the judiciary more representative and responsible to the people than Jefferson found it in 1801, but, despite the repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801 and ill-fated resort to impeachments, a solution to this vexing problem eluded him.

While acknowledging that the times were especially propitious, Malone is high in his praise for Jefferson's effectiveness both as president and as a party leader. In his relations with Congress he secured virtually everything he wished, and little was done that did not meet with his approval. Yet he was extremely circumspect in his relations with the legislative branch, working tactfully and by indirect means to forward his ends. It should be added that he sought relatively little from Congress, and it is also notable that on the most controversial issues before that body—the repeal of the Judiciary Act, the Twelfth Amendment, the Yazoo settlement, and the impeachment proceedings against Pickens and Chase—he remained aloof.

As a party leader, Jefferson's style was so subdued that its effectiveness remains somewhat puzzling. His moderate policy toward removing Federalists from office scarcely appeased his more ardent partisans. He scrupulously avoided interfering in intraparty squabbles and took virtually no part in his re-election in 1804. Yet he succeeded in keeping his party relatively united, breached the Federalist stronghold in New England, and brought the West securely into the Republican fold.

The crowning achievement was the acquisition of Louisiana. Luck, or at least the unpredictable decisions of Bonaparte, dominated this incident, but Jefferson showed skill, flexibility, and realism in making the most of the surprising bargain. He was less skillful in dealing with the matter of West Florida.

On the personal side, there are admirable sketches of Jefferson's religious views, of his affectionate relations with his family, and of his eagerness to dabble with his numerous intellectual and practical hobbies. He suffered under scandalous newspaper assaults on his personal character and was sufficiently aroused to instigate prosecutions in state courts of the chief libelers.

This is an admiring biography. The author accepts the validity of Jefferson's values for his times and within that context he finds but few faults, and those quite minor. Needless to say, this is not Jefferson as Henry Adams viewed him. But it is a plausible Jefferson, presented by a thoroughly honest and eminently qualified scholar to whom we are indebted for a work of monumental stature and lasting significance.

*Rutgers University*

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

STORMY PETREL: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GENERAL BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, 1818-1893. By *Howard P. Nash, Jr.* (Rutherford, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1969. Pp. 335. \$10.00.)

A PREFATORY confession by Mr. Nash that, despite an attempt at objectivity, his study led to his liking Ben Butler is somehow disarming. One begins the book hoping to share at least a part of the author's pleasure in his subject. Unfortunately, the complicated twists and turns in Butler's long, controversial career have proved too much for even a most sympathetic biographer. More generous with military than political detail or analysis, Nash somehow never comes to grips with the challenge inherent in his task. Butler's convolutions from Breckenridge Democrat in 1860 to Radical Republican during and after the Civil War to Greenbacker and Democrat again in the 1870's and 1880's remain murky. Similarly, in the area of race relations Butler's changing views and policies need a more careful and sophisticated treatment than they receive here. In 1859 he strongly opposed the enrollment of Negroes in the Massachusetts militia on the dual grounds that blacks were ineligible because they were not and could not become citizens and that whites would be degraded if they had to train beside blacks. Yet within a few years Butler emerged as a foremost military and then political champion of the Negro's cause.

The author defends Butler even in the extremes of his unrestrained partisan conduct as manager during the impeachment and trial of President Andrew Johnson. Probably the freshest observation offered is that if Butler's catch-all tenth article of impeachment, which charged the president with bad manners and intemperate criticism of Congress, had sufficed for the ousting of Johnson, things might have gone hard in a later time for Grover Cleveland and Harry Truman: "Cleveland could have been found guilty on the first of these counts; Truman on both of them."

In 1882, at the age of 64, Butler succeeded in his seventh attempt to become

governor of Massachusetts. Although this feat inspired him to eye the presidency, the voters of Massachusetts spared the nation that possibility by defeating his bid for reelection to the governorship. He died in 1893.

Nash concludes that Butler had three different careers. In the first of these, as a lawyer, Butler was "eminently successful." Militarily "he did as well as his background and training permitted," but he "had the misfortune to have been promoted to a rank beyond his capacity." In politics Butler "went far and with a little better luck he might have gone much further." But the author's contention that Ben Butler "played more than a small part in generating the populist movement which gave rise in turn" to the reform movements associated with Bryan, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts is precisely where he has failed to develop, much less prove his case.

*Duke University*

ROBERT F. DURDEN

CHICAGO: GROWTH OF A METROPOLIS. By *Harold M. Mayer* and *Richard C. Wade*, with the assistance of *Glen E. Holt*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 510. \$32.00.)

BARELY a quarter of this thick volume is text; the bulk of it is given over to pictures, more than a thousand photographs, fifty maps, and a few drawings. It is not, however, yet another pictorial history of an American city. Instead, the authors attempt to utilize photographs as "documents" that allow them to reconstruct the physical shape of Chicago at different stages of its growth and to explain "*how* the city expanded and *why* it looks the way it does." They have been brilliantly successful. The text and the visual materials are integrally related to each other, and the reproductions are accompanied by substantial and lively headnotes that further tie the work together. The rich architectural heritage of the city receives its due, but not more; the achievements of the Chicago School are set in their true context, as part of the larger process that produced Gary and Wilmette, Pullman, the Back of the Yards, Cicero, and the Black Belt. To see precisely how the natural setting, innovations in transportation, the pressures of industrial and commercial development, explosive population growth, and the shifting preferences of city-dwellers interacted to create one giant metropolis adds a new dimension to our understanding of the city-building process in general.

At times, however, the authors may have been guilty of overkill. One picture is perhaps worth a thousand words, but it does not follow that a thousand pictures are worth a million words. I became weary, for instance, of so many snaps of suburban railway stations, trolley cars, and routine business buildings, and might have felt pique as well had I been forced to pay a heady thirty dollars for the book. This was especially noticeable because so little of the visual evidence presented revealed those aspects of the urban environment most salient to the majority of city-dwellers—the ordinary working people. This neglect stems not from any bias of the authors, but from the values of the men who held the cameras, who did not consider these significant subjects. Photographic evidence, therefore, is of necessarily limited value for those who seek to view history "from the bottom up." But there are, as this book shows persuasively and entertainingly, important facets of the urbanization process that can be understood in no other way.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

STEPHAN THERNSTROM

DAVID C. BRODERICK: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT. By *David A. Williams*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1969. Pp. ix, 274. \$7.50.)

THIS book is much more than a political portrait of David C. Broderick; it is, as well, a comprehensive analysis of the chaotic political party bedlam pervading California during the crucial decade of the 1850's. Such parties as the American, Anti-Lecompton, Chivalry, Know-Nothing, Lecompton, Locofoco, and Whig were very active on the California political scene, in addition to the regular Democratic and rapidly emerging new Republican parties. Broderick brought with him to California from New York deep-seated and unwavering interest, skill, and ambition in politics that, of course, contributed to his election as US Democratic senator in 1857. The author has provided generous scope or breadth to his study. The reader of his tightly written book will be richly rewarded with solid information on many of Broderick's political friends and archenemies. Among those given frequent mention is the orator Edward D. Baker, one of Lincoln's and also the senator's closest friends. Others are Governor John Bigler, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Senator William M. Gwin, and Congressman Milton S. Latham.

Examination of the author's footnote documentation provides ample evidence and reassurance to critical readers that Williams has made use of abundant manuscript, documentary, and newspaper materials housed mainly at the Huntington, Bancroft, and California state libraries, and at the Library of Congress.

All who helped see this book through the press have obviously exercised great editorial skill and care. One normally overlooks the occasional typographical slips. It is, however, unfortunate that the most crucial date in the book—that of Broderick's death from a gun wound inflicted by David S. Terry—is given as September 16, 1869 (p. 239), rather than as having occurred a decade previously.

*Indiana University*

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

ENGINEERING IN AMERICAN SOCIETY, 1850-1875. By *Raymond H. Merritt*. ([Lexington: | University Press of Kentucky. 1969. Pp. xi, 199. \$7.95.)

ENGINEERING in the era 1850-75 became an institutionalized and scientific profession, promoting a rapid utilization of machines, tools, and industrial technology. Only two colleges offered engineering training in 1840; by 1870 over seventy did so. Instructional methods gradually changed from textbook and recitation to the laboratory and lecture system, stressing analysis and problem-solving rather than memorizing data. A well-trained graduate would soon fall behind his colleagues, however, if he relied only on his formal education without keeping informed on the rapid expansion of technical knowledge. The profession helped keep its membership abreast of the latest developments by emphasizing the publication of detailed reports on various projects currently being completed. Specialists were generous in answering letters of inquiry from colleagues faced with difficult problems. Engineers started their careers at low pay, but advanced rapidly to unusually attractive salaries. They expected to be mobile, to move from one position to another and from one part of the country or the world to another; they had to be adaptable, and they expected to exercise authority without fear of offending their employer or neighbors. Some engineers specialized in major construction projects, while others concentrated on a particular type of work, such as helping solve the problems of cities that had grown too rapidly. The ability of experienced engineers to organize, to eliminate inefficiency, and to guide the actions of others led



many of them into executive positions, most commonly in railroads or other public utilities; here they often concentrated on what later became known as scientific management. This judicious book, stating the result of thorough research briefly and with admirable clarity, is a useful contribution to American social, economic, urban, and technological history.

*University of Idaho*

WILLIAM S. GREEVER

HANNIBAL HAMLIN OF MAINE: LINCOLN'S FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.

By *H. Draper Hunt*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 292. \$9.00.)

THIS is the first modern biography of the man dimly remembered as Lincoln's running mate in 1860. Hannibal Hamlin was actually a power in Maine politics for almost a half-century and a figure of national importance during much of that time. His service in the United States Senate, before and after four frustrating years as wartime vice-president, extended from the Polk administration to the inauguration of Garfield. This brief, well-written, and heavily documented account of his career provides one more case study of how a Jacksonian Democrat became a Radical Republican. It fills out the picture a little, but does not significantly change the political history of the times. Hamlin helped plan the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso; he made one of the major replies to Calhoun in the great Senate debate of 1850; and it was he who selected Gideon Welles as Lincoln's secretary of the navy. Yet his influence on the course of events generally seems contributory rather than decisive, and he is remembered less for what he did than for what was done to him in 1864.

The author rightly gives considerable attention to the political maneuvers that culminated in the replacement of Hamlin by Andrew Johnson at the Union party convention in Baltimore. In general he agrees with historians who have portrayed Lincoln working behind the scenes to arrange the substitution. Here, as in certain other parts of the book, Hunt perhaps relies too heavily on reminiscences written long after the event. Yet no one can quarrel with his assertion that "if Lincoln had wanted to do so, he could have brought about Hamlin's renomination." Nor can one doubt the importance of the decision at Baltimore. Hamlin, an established Republican with Radical sympathies and a shrewd spoilsman of high personal integrity, was much better fitted than his successor to guide the nation through the early stages of Reconstruction.

*Stanford University*

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

NISEI: THE QUIET AMERICANS. By *Bill Hosokawa*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1969. Pp. xvii, 522. \$10.95.)

Mr. Hosokawa is associate editor of the *Denver Post* and himself a *Nisei*, an American-born citizen of Japanese immigrant parents. Reared on the West Coast, he remembers the subtle and not so subtle prejudices that caused him as a youth to question the value of his heritage. The author was also among those Japanese-Americans evacuated from the West Coast and interned in camps during the Second World War.

The fact that Mr. Hosokawa experienced much of what he writes about adds to the interest of this well-written book, which is aimed at a popular audience. Building on a foundation provided by scholars and materials collected by the Japanese American Research Project at UCLA, he traces the story of Japanese-Americans from the origins

of Japan, the early relations between the two countries, the arrival of the first organized group of immigrants in 1869, to the present. The bulk of the book is devoted to the twentieth century, particularly to the racial antipathy directed at orientals in the West that resulted in numerous discriminatory laws—against land ownership and denial of naturalization for Japanese immigrants, for example. Finally, the long history of anti-Japanese racism resulted in the mass evacuation and internment of *Issei* noncitizens, as well as their *Nisei* offspring, who were citizens. National officials such as Roosevelt and Stimson bought the argument that “military necessity” dictated this course of action, despite J. Edgar Hoover’s warning that Japanese-Americans were not a threat and that other public officials were reacting to political pressure. One such official was Earl Warren, then attorney general of California, who told a congressional committee that it was impossible to be sure about the loyalties of the oriental race and that the fact that there had been no proven cases of fifth-column activity only indicated that such activity was likely to occur in the future. The author notes that the former chief justice refused to discuss this period with him.

The latter part of the book traces the rise of the *Nisei* from the depths of bitterness and disillusionment in the relocation camps to national atonement in the courts and in Congress during the postwar years that witnessed the demise of anti-Japanese laws. Much of this success was the result of lobbying efforts by the Japanese American Citizens League and the record of the all-*Nisei* 442nd Regimental Combat Team that established its patriotism through its long list of casualties during the war. What emerges is the insensitivity of a democratic nation and its officials to the rights of a minority. This prejudice is particularly tragic during the Second World War, when the nation was engaged in a struggle against a tyranny motivated largely by an ideology based on a concept of racial superiority. Ironically, Japanese-Americans, like Afro-Americans, were forced to fight racism at home as well as abroad. The former emerged victorious on both fronts, while the latter did not.

State University of New York, Binghamton

RICHARD M. DALFUME

#### THE EMERGENCE OF OLIGOPOLY: SUGAR REFINING AS A CASE STUDY.

by Alfred S. Eichner. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 388. \$12.00.)

ALFRED S. Eichner does well to remind his readers that the contributions of economics transcend the quantitative techniques that have received so much attention during the past decade. Rather, economics embraces a wide range of theories, some of which can be fruitfully applied to historical data. Eichner’s purpose in this monograph is to utilize selected concepts of industrial organization theory, mainly in relation to the growth of oligopoly between 1870 and 1920, and to focus on the merger movement between 1895 and 1907. His study is placed within the broader context of the corporate revolution that has taken place in America since the late nineteenth century, the outlines of which have been sketched by Adolph A. Berle, Gardiner C. Means, John Kenneth Galbraith, Donald Dewey, Alfred Chandler, and others. To secure depth Eichner has chosen the growth of oligopoly in sugar refining for detailed analysis in order to identify the forces that bring about corporate change within a particular historical situation.

This well-written book has been competently executed. Those who are not particularly interested in the sugar industry will appreciate Eichner’s first chapter in which he ably outlines the general dimensions of the corporate revolution in broad strokes. The remainder of the volume is concerned with the emergence of increasing

competition in sugar refining at the turn of the century, a trend also discernible in other industries. A major result of this tendency was the consequent search for stability by businessmen in ensuing decades. The author's perspective is broad, as he delineates the reciprocal influence of technology, organizational and legal changes, and indeed, the transformation of a whole range of values. Eichner's documentation in primary and secondary sources has been thorough. Much of the book is based on testimony in courts of law or before legislative committees. At times the author seems too much inclined to accept such testimony at face value. One wonders also why relevant secondary works, such as those of Arrington, are ignored. But such criticisms should not obscure the genuine contribution this study makes to a deeper understanding of the pattern of corporate growth in twentieth-century America.

*University of New Mexico*

GERALD D. NASH

PERSEVERING POPULIST: THE LIFE OF FRANK DOSTER. By *Michael J. Brodhead*. (Reno: University of Nevada Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 196. \$5.00.)

"Mr. Doster is always on the side of the people" wrote a Kansas editor of Frank Doster, the man who was widely regarded as the "Daniel Webster of Populism in Kansas." Brodhead's interesting and well-done political biography of the eloquent Populist leader is an analysis that attempts to determine whether Doster was, in thought and action, a sincere advocate of reform measures for the popular betterment. The verdict, rendered on the basis of a detailed analysis of Doster's writings and speeches and a chronicling of his political and legal career, is in the affirmative, despite some of the Kansan's inconsistencies.

Brodhead's book is the first full-length biography of a Populist leader whose reputation has been largely obscured by the more colorful figures of Kansas Populism. "He had no flowing beard; he was never known to want for socks; and he was not a woman." Doster's long tenure in the public eye is traced from his service in the Kansas legislature in 1872, as its youngest member, through his years as the Populist chief justice of the state Supreme Court, to his final days as an unrepentant collectivist. Doster's controversial doctrine that the rights of the user are paramount to the rights of the owner and the apparent contradiction of his radicalism and his philosophy of judicial restraint are carefully examined.

Some readers of Brodhead's study will be disappointed by the author's deliberate decision not to involve himself in the present controversy over whether Populism was in the mainstream of American liberalism. Others will find the lengthy analysis of Doster's views rather tedious at times and will be disappointed that there are only glimpses into the Kansan's interesting personal life. But all will appreciate the increased understanding of the Populist movement in Kansas provided by this worthwhile account.

*University of Northern Colorado, Greeley*

ROBERT W. LARSON

A HERO IN SPITE OF HIMSELF: BRAND WHITLOCK IN ART, POLITICS, & WAR. By *Robert M. Crunden*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. 479, xi. \$10.00.)

BRAND Whitlock—successor to "Golden Rule" Jones as mayor of Toledo, topical novelist, minister, and subsequently ambassador to Belgium—has found his first biographer in Robert Crunden. Whitlock was overshadowed by Jones in municipal

reform, by more powerful and original talents in literature, and by Herbert Hoover as organizer of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. This admirable, energetic Progressive, like most of his fellows, failed to find the sustained nerve, and perhaps the wrongheadedness, of Lincoln Steffens, the institutional and ethnic base of Abraham Cahan, or the crude genius of Theodore Dreiser. He thus was lacking in the qualities that for some of his most successful contemporaries helped to crystallize and sustain a major vision or a career whose influences have reached into our times.

One of many sensitive literary young men of the Middle Border impatiently apprenticed to law, journalism, and politics in the Progressive years, bent on literature and eager for reform, but left at loose ends finally by World War I, Whitlock is interesting primarily as a superb representative type rather than as an exceptional individual. "History will record that he was a decent human being who in spite of himself managed to lead a life of real value." Indeed Whitlock's shrewd comment on his abortive campaign for the Ohio gubernatorial nomination in 1905—"I came out of it all feeling that among politicians I am considered a very good *littérateur* and among *littérateurs* a very good politician"—is a cue upon which his biographer unfortunately has failed to act. The result is a meticulously researched but indiscriminating literary biography. Divided into two equal parts, "The Father of All" (America, 1869-1913) and "Ministre Protecteur (Belgium and France, 1914-1934)," that do not seem at all equal, *A Hero In Spite of Himself* is overloaded throughout with costume detail, with stale and inapposite passages of historical background, and with extravagant and unconsidered associations and comparisons of Whitlock's novels with those of Howells, James, and Tolstoy, judgments that do no credit to a biographer sensitive to the moral, social, and political problems that stirred Whitlock.

Somehow Crunden seems to have plunged into his ample materials before taking sufficient pause to establish a tight intellectual rationale for their organization, to take a sufficient measure of Whitlock's "inner man" and his precise relation to his contemporaries, and to find a method for neatly employing Whitlock's fiction and his other writings to illuminate his life and his times with deftness and economy. Although a minor figure, this Victorian and apparent Christian anarchist would have been better served had he been viewed with detachment, imagination, and perspective.

San Francisco State College

MOSES RISCHIN

REFORM IN DETROIT: HAZEN S. PINGREE AND URBAN POLITICS. By Melvin G. Holli. [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xvi, 269. \$7.50.)

THE center of Melvin G. Holli's political biography of Hazen S. Pingree is an analytical distinction between traditions of governmental reform. Pingree served through the 1890's, first as mayor of Detroit and then as governor of Michigan. Though initially promoted for office by substantial Republican businessmen, he progressively broadened his class appeal. His rhetoric was directed to the "people" rather than toward elites, his policies toward reduced utility and transit rates and improved and equitably distributed public services. Holli describes Pingree as a "social reformer" and contrasts him with a larger group of "structural reformers" whose stock-in-trade was "charter tinkering, elaborate audit procedures, and the drive to impose businesslike efficiency upon city governments."

Holli's real typology of reformers is extremely useful. It elaborates with great richness the insights in Samuel P. Hays's article on cosmopolitanism and reform politics.

It focuses attention on the class distributional attributes of urban policies rather than simply on campaign talk and voting. The analysis is so good that I cannot help paying it the compliment of wishing it were better.

There is, as I see it, a set of related limitations in Holli's typology. While he points to the distributional effects of policies, he does not study them in any detail. For example, his discussion of the impact of lowered street railway fares upon the location of populations, housing costs, and urban cohesion is vague and entirely derivative. His own research did not extend to the interaction between land use and transportation in Detroit itself. Similarly, his brush-stroke characterization of the structural reformers is tinged with caricature. He minimizes their interest in coordinated urban expansion and the professionalization of public services. One example of this minimization to which I am particularly sensitive is his use of my work to describe New York Mayor William F. Havemeyer—rather than Andrew H. Green—as a prototype of nineteenth-century structuralists. This minimization allows Holli to avoid a set of difficult issues that are important in current policy debates: What were the distributional effects of professionalization? Was the reduction of participation essential to the expansion of public initiatives?

These limitations suggest the futility of attempting to correct the details of Holli's typology. I hope that in the next round of research and analysis, urban historians will focus on reforms—or policies—rather than the men who made them. We need to know more about how to get things done, and we could manage with a little less knowledge about the men who do them.

*University of Pennsylvania*

SEYMOUR J. MANDELBAUM

THE MAYOR WHO MASTERED NEW YORK: THE LIFE & OPINIONS OF WILLIAM J. GAYNOR. By *Lately Thomas*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1969. Pp. 516. \$12.50.)

AL SMITH: HERO OF THE CITIES. A POLITICAL PORTRAIT DRAWING ON THE PAPERS OF FRANCES PERKINS. By *Matthew and Hannah Josephson*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1969. Pp. xx, 505. \$7.95.)

THE FIRST HURRAH: A BIOGRAPHY OF ALFRED E. SMITH. By *Richard O'Connor*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1970. Pp. 318. \$6.95.)

THESE three biographies, two of Al Smith and one of Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York, vary greatly in quality. The weakest is the Gaynor volume, written by the prolific popular biographer Lately Thomas. Gaynor was a New York State Supreme Court justice from 1894 to 1909 and mayor of the city from 1909 to 1913. Possessing an irascible wit and an independent manner, Gaynor broke with the Tammany bosses who nominated him and fought heated battles with newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst. Controversies over traction, the police, and a strike by garbage workers, questions not unfamiliar to present-day New Yorkers, occupied his administration. Unfortunately, Thomas never penetrates beneath the surface of events. He would have benefited greatly from a careful reading of Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, *Governing New York City*. His undocumented narrative is marked by copious quotations from the newspapers, from Gaynor's letters, and from articles written by the mayor. No attempt is made to distinguish between important and trivial events, and Gaynor's role as a serious contender for the 1912 Democratic presidential nomination is grossly exaggerated.

Of the two biographies of Al Smith, that by Matthew and Hannah Josephson is more detailed and more thoroughly researched than that of Richard O'Connor, al-

though the two agree on most interpretations. Both are sympathetic to Smith but not uncritical; both see him as the hero of the urban masses; and both regret his turn to conservatism after 1932. (The Josephsons suggest that Smith made a "perceptible . . . shift" towards conservatism in 1928.) The O'Connor book has minimal documentation, while the Josephsons supply more information, although still an inadequate amount, about their sources. Because of its greater usefulness for historians, this review will concentrate upon the Josephsons' volume.

The Josephsons commenced their work on Al Smith at the request of Susanna Wilson Coggeshall, Frances Perkins' daughter and literary executor. During the last years of her life, Miss Perkins began a biography of Smith and at her death left a fragmentary manuscript and a mass of notes and tape-recorded reminiscences. The Josephsons used this material as their starting point, collected a large number of additional sources, and wrote an entirely new manuscript. The result is the most thorough study yet available of Smith's career, and one that also pays considerable attention to Frances Perkins' contributions to reform during the Progressive period and during Smith's gubernatorial administrations.

The Josephsons view Smith as a superb politician who advocated a middle way of "moderate social reform as a means of avoiding more extreme alternatives." Not a systems builder, he hoped to reconcile class and ethnic divisions. He became the "Hero of the Cities" because of his ethnic background (drawing upon Miss Perkins' research, the Josephsons show that Smith was of Italian, German, and English, as well as Irish, descent) and his sympathy to immigrant life styles and because his state programs sought to meet the "growing demands of the urban masses . . . for improvement in working and living conditions." As governor, Smith called for home rule for cities, for municipal ownership of public utilities and traction, for rent control and low-cost housing, and for hours and wage legislation. He also effectively reorganized the executive branch of the government. As the Josephsons note, Smith was "not unaware that his brand of progressivism brought him political fortune."

Smith is best known as the first Roman Catholic to run for president on a major party ticket, and the Josephsons present an objective account of his role in the 1928 campaign. They observe that, although Smith may have cast the image of a "fighting progressive," he raised no "burning issues," and that, aside from the religious and prohibition questions, he did not differ very much from his opponent, Herbert Hoover. The authors, however, never come to grips with the contention of David Burner in *The Politics of Provincialism* that Smith may have suffered as much from his own lack of sensitivity to the values and mores of small-town America as from anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant bigotry. Both the Josephsons and O'Connor also accept Samuel Lubell's view that Smith accelerated the shift of recent urban immigrants into the Democratic party—a shift that "led to a historic change in the relationship between the two parties." In a recent article in this journal, however, Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen ("The Cities and the Election of 1928: Partisan Realignment?" *AHR*, LXXIV [1969], 1205–20) question the importance of Smith's candidacy in causing a lasting political realignment in 1928. They suggest that realignment came primarily in the 1930's or over a period of years rather than in one "critical election."

These points, however, do not detract from the contribution of the Josephsons in writing this useful biography of Al Smith. Historians will also find the O'Connor biography enjoyable reading, although of more limited scope. They will do well to avoid the Lately Thomas study of Mayor Gaynor.

Carnegie-Mellon University

JOEL A. TARR



HARRY L. RUSSELL AND AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE IN WISCONSIN. By Edward H. Beardsley. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969. Pp. x, 237. \$10.00.)

A BIOGRAPHICAL study of a university-level administrator, a brilliant research scientist, and an able public servant is a welcome change of scene from the usual focus on a political or a military leader. This is particularly true when the subject possesses some national and even international stature, and when the writer is clearly competent to deal with a complex and versatile man whose active career covered a period of nearly half a century and a lifetime of eighty-four years.

To write his study of Harry L. Russell, Edward H. Beardsley had to know something of plant bacteriology, animal pathology, soil science, the development of extension services, and the public health movement in addition to the more usual topics such as agriculture during World War I and the years that followed. Even while dealing with this wide range of subject matter, somehow a reasonably clear picture of Harry L. Russell, the man, is presented. In part this may be because the author does not hesitate to summarize the negative as well as the positive side of his subject's career and his weaknesses as well as his strengths, and he does not refrain from drawing specific conclusions or making value judgments.

The focus of the study is on Russell's career as dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin from 1907 to 1930. On some occasions his policies as dean did not endear Russell to his colleagues in agriculture, nor to his fellow administrators whose courses he appropriated, nor to the board of regents, nor to the farmers of Wisconsin. The creation of a research institution designed to take science to the farmer is the central theme of the book. In the process of developing this theme the writer informs his reader on such diverse topics as bovine tuberculosis, cheese making, cabbage rot, agricultural education, the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, and the problem of the cutover lands. The reader will also gain some brief insights into politics in Wisconsin and the depression of the nineteen-twenties in agriculture. In writing a very good book the author has made maximum use of an excellent body of source material and has made, to quote the publisher's blurb, "a distinct contribution not only to Wisconsin history, but to the history of biological sciences, the development of scientific agriculture, and the history of higher education in America."

*University of Kansas*

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

HUEY LONG. By T. Harry Williams. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. xiv, 884, xxii. \$12.50.)

HUEY LONG. Edited by Hugh Davis Graham. [Great Lives Observed. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1970. Pp. vii, 184. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

WEIGHING in at three pounds, five ounces, T. Harry Williams' heavyweight biography of Huey Long is reminiscent of the Victorian fashion in its bulk and detail, but hardly in its subject and style, both of which radiate vitality. And it is unique in its exploitation of oral history. The author compensated for the scarcity of personal papers by conducting 295 interviews, which supplied personal and political insights of a sort usually missing from manuscripts. Using this evidence with a careful eye to reliability, Williams has put together an absorbing story, sympathetic yet critical, of the brash young man from Winnfield who became railroad commissioner, governor, and senator, reduced Louisiana to political vassalage while delivering tangible benefits, and who

was reaching out for national power when an assassin cut him down in 1935 at the age of forty-two.

Some of the legends that have gathered about the name of Huey Long can now be laid to rest: that he grew up in abject poverty; that his family were either Populists or socialists; that he finished a three-year law course in one year (the retentive quality of his mind gave credence to the story, but he simply quit and passed the bar examination); that he avoided racist appeals (although they were peripheral and not central to his techniques); that his assassin acted as the agent of a conspiracy (Carl Austin Weiss acted alone, Williams says, "to remove a tyrant").

Williams, however, does accept the view, already entrenched in Louisiana historiography, that before Long the state was ruled by a neglectful oligarchy, which invited, even required, the shock treatment of Longism to loosen its grip. Williams discounts the suggestion by other writers that John M. Parker, Progressive governor from 1920 to 1924, played Kerensky to Long's Lenin by challenging the hierarchy and raising the main issues that Long later exploited: highways, schools, corporation taxes, and regulation. Parker, Williams argues, was the epitome of the ineffectual reformer who betrayed a characteristic inhibition against wielding power. A prime case in point was his compromise with Standard Oil on the severance tax in 1920. Yet, paradoxically, when Long as railroad commissioner compromised on telephone rates, he "acted the part of a typical pragmatic American politician," and when as governor he compromised with Standard Oil on a severance tax increase it "was nonetheless a triumph that he had succeeded in imposing any tax."

Nevertheless, one cannot escape the overwhelming evidence that Long profited from the incredible hauteur of opponents so blind to the times and so tactically inept that their concept of a political program in the depression decade was the gentlemanly code of good government—a situation that offered Louisiana voters the choice so aptly expressed in Gerald Johnson's phrase: live demagogues or dead gentlemen.

But when Long moved onto the national stage in 1932, he soon faced a different kind of adversary in Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he helped nominate but with whom he broke very early. Roosevelt not only grasped the realities of power, but had the tactical skill to co-opt for Long's chief issue, the maldistribution of wealth. In seizing upon this issue as soon as he entered the Senate, Long displayed again the instinct for the jugular that he had shown when he exploited the anticorporation spirit in Louisiana. Whether he had a workable plan or not, his scheme to Share Our Wealth dramatized a fundamental issue in a society that had solved the problem of production, but not that of distribution, an issue few politicians were so imprudent as to tackle directly. The appeal it generated made Long a presidential possibility. His plan, as confided to one associate, was to sponsor a third-party candidate in 1936, thereby defeat Roosevelt, let the Republicans flounder with the Depression four years, then ride into power. There was evidence enough of Long's national strength to make his threat credible to the national Democratic leaders, but death cut short his career.

One impression left by the biography, although Williams never makes reference to the several novels based on Long's career, is that Robert Penn Warren's Willie Stark in *All the King's Men* captured with remarkable fidelity the high tragedy of Huey Long: the mixture of good and evil, the fatal flaw of *hubris*. "He wanted to do good, but to accomplish that he had to have power," Williams writes. "So he took power and then to do more good seized still more power, and finally the means and the end became so entwined in his mind that he could not distinguish between them, could not tell whether he wanted power as a method or for its own sake."

But Williams rejects the thesis that Long veered suddenly toward vindictive and ruthless acts when his enemies sought to impeach him in 1929. Indeed it seems that the flaw was evident from the beginning. In his childhood Long displayed those qualities of energy and effrontery that would mark his political career, the mental quickness and will to power that drove him not only to defeat but to destroy his enemies, not only to dominate but to humiliate his friends.

The book ends, perhaps appropriately, with Long's death, and therefore does not explore the heritage he left behind, either the enduring bifactionalism in Louisiana politics or the plunderbund that succeeded him. Regarding the latter, however, Williams suggests that Long was becoming aware of the corruptionists in his ranks and beginning to move against them before he died, but they were the inevitable products of his organization's "deducts" and the leader's inability to tolerate independent men except as technical experts in such areas as highways and education, and not always there.

Efforts to categorize Long have never captured the quintessence of the man: Populist, demagogue, fascist, Bolshevik, clown, rube, political boss, caudillo, leftist democrat. To these categories Williams adds another: mass leader, after Eric Hoffer. All contain some grain of truth. Long was an amalgam of many traits and, like violence, to paraphrase another Louisianian, as American as cherry pie. Perhaps Huey himself should have the last word: "Oh, hell, say that I'm *sui generis* and let it go at that." That is the fascination of his character and of Williams' biography, which captures the infinite variety of the man.

For those who would like to pursue the evaluation further, the timely appearance of Hugh Davis Graham's *Huey Long* offers a collection of observations by Long, by his contemporaries, and by later writers. Finally, Graham's afterword suggests some ultimate questions raised by Long's career: "... when a moral cause fueled by long years of inequity and neglect confronts a rigid political structure, what are one's responsibilities? And when due process takes a beating, how should we apportion the burden of guilt?" These "hard questions," says Graham, did not die with Huey Long.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

GEORGE B. TINDALL

TURBULENT YEARS. By Irving Bernstein. [A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1970. Pp. xiv, 873. \$12.95.)

SIT-DOWN: THE GENERAL MOTORS STRIKE OF 1936-1937. By Sidney Fine. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 448. \$12.50.)

HERE we have two superb examples of different types of labor history—the first a broad panorama in brilliant prose and the second, a thorough, well-written analysis of a specific event in labor history.

Bernstein, a professor at the University of California in Los Angeles, has written this second volume in his history of labor between World War I and World War II. His first, *The Lean Years* (1960), covered the 1920's, focused on the worker and his life, and deserved the plaudits it received. Bernstein is not only a trained historian, but he is also an expert in industrial relations—having written widely on collective bargaining and being a practicing arbitrator. This combination of skills and experiences makes him particularly competent to deal with labor's past in that he knows how to use historical documentation but is also sensitive to the nuances of labor-management relations.

Bernstein's major strengths are his narrative skill and his ability at short, per-

ceptive analyses of people and events. His portrayals of the major labor leaders of the 1930's and of the dramatic events that turned the small, craft-oriented unions of the 1920's into the mass, industry-oriented labor movement of the 1930's are accurate and fascinating. This change did not come easily, and Bernstein describes the role played by Roosevelt and his political associates; the legal implications of the National Industry Recovery Act, the Wagner Act, and the National Labor Relations Board; the early reactions of the AFL when it seemed to "wander between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born" and when it stopped wandering once the CIO was born; and the conflicts within unions, among unions, and between unions and management as organized labor began to expand and to seek power. Many of the details in Bernstein's book can be found elsewhere—but nowhere as well integrated and as well written. But it is broadly gauged, and if one wants to examine in more detail something Bernstein can only briefly discuss, one has to move elsewhere—to more analytical and thorough studies. One such is Sidney Fine's book on the sit-down strike.

Fine, professor of history at the University of Michigan, leaves the broad scene of labor in the 1930's to Bernstein; instead, he pinpoints one strike—perhaps the most important strike of the decade, the sit-down strike against General Motors in Flint—and analyzes it in exhaustive, but never exhausting, detail. Earlier, Fine had written about labor relations in the automobile industry prior to the sit-down strike in his *The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle*. The failure of the techniques that evolved to handle labor relations in the industry under the National Industry Recovery Act helped to provide the basis for what was to occur later in Flint. But more basic were the labor philosophy of the corporation, the problems faced by the automobile workers, and the internal struggles within the union and within the community. Fine, in analyzing the causes of the strike, treats all of these matters. After he describes the start of the sit-down, he then reports on the strategy and tactics of General Motors, of the United Automobile Workers, of the community, and of political leaders, particularly Governor Frank Murphy but also President Franklin Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. Whatever one's views concerning the justification for the sit-down strike as a tactic, Fine makes clear what Bernstein also alludes to (and what Ray Marshall has also claimed is true in his history of labor in the South) that for unions to expand, it is not sufficient (although probably necessary) to have pro-labor laws passed and sympathetic political leaders in power. Labor also has to have strong leaders, be committed to imaginative and firm action, and be willing to take a chance. This proved to be true in Flint, and as a result, General Motors, perhaps the most powerful corporation in the United States, was eventually forced to recognize the United Automobile Workers.

A reviewer's job in looking at both of these books could be eased by attacking the authors for not writing books that the reviewer might have written if he had the energy or talent. Thus, one could claim that Bernstein's book lacks analysis, and that Fine has too much. But Bernstein's goal was to tell the story dramatically, and anyone who has to read through Walter Galenson's and Philip Taft's books on labor in the 1930's can only be thankful to Bernstein for realizing that writing labor history should not only seem like labor but should also seem like history. And if one wants to check on some of Bernstein's judgments, one might look at the more detailed studies such as Fine's and compare, for example, somewhat different reactions to Governor Frank Murphy.

There is also the temptation, partially provoked by Fine's comparisons between the sit-down strikes of the 1930's and the sit-ins in the 1960's, to compare the 1930's with

the 1960's. In fact, one meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association focused on this topic, and Bernstein gave one of the papers at the meeting. There are, of course, many similarities. Clearly, in both periods, the strikers wanted to be heard, but the ultimate objectives were different. To the workers in the 1930's, the goal sought was to bargain collectively—to develop a structure in which representatives, chosen normally on a majority basis through a certification election, would speak for all of the workers. To achieve this goal, they would use sit-downs and general strikes. But once this right was secured, they would forego such tactics and bargain collectively. Unions recognized that such extreme tactics might become self-defeating; moreover, they did not use them for political purposes. Thus the sit-down was a temporary technique discarded by the labor movement once labor needed it no longer and, in fact, recognized that it might boomerang against them because of growing negative public reaction. Those who promote the general use of sit-ins and general strikes in the 1960's and the 1970's often point to the labor movement's tactics in the 1930's as models to be followed. They, however, forget the earlier restricted purposes of these techniques as temporary tactics to achieve limited goals.

Perhaps those who today want to make these tactics the ubiquitous weapons of those seeking change might secure some perspective concerning the techniques by reading Bernstein's and Fine's books. In the meantime, I will await anxiously Sidney Fine's forthcoming biography of Frank Murphy and Irving Bernstein's third volume.

*Michigan State University*

ALBERT A. BLUM

FREEDOM AND THE FOUNDATION: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC IN THE ERA OF McCARTHYISM. By *Thomas C. Reeves*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. xi, 355, ix. \$7.95.)

ESTABLISHED in 1952 through a Ford Foundation grant, the Fund for the Republic was the first tax-exempt foundation devoted solely to research and public education in the area of civil liberties. The author of this institutional study has diligently plowed through the Fund's "half ton of collected materials [which] had been reduced by a fire three years earlier to a burned and water soaked rubble." Professor Reeves spent two years sorting the files and forwarding them to Princeton University, a task that "proved to be as educational as it was toilsome," and one for which historians should be grateful.

Under the director of the Ford Foundation, Paul G. Hoffmann, the Fund got off to a slow start; and under the brief presidency of Clifford Case it seemed unable to come up with the studies and programs needed to check the erosion of civil liberties during the security hysteria of the early fifties. Not until Robert Hutchins became president (in April 1954) did the Fund make significant progress. Hutchins, whose unbending moralism Reeves compares to Woodrow Wilson's "Zoroastrian" world view, presided over the Fund's three "phases": first, the distribution of grants to research projects dealing with civil liberties and racial segregation; subsequently a shift to weekend conferences on the "basic issues," conducted by various Fund consultants; and finally, after the conferences proved unproductive, the establishment of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, the fulfillment of Hutchins' dream of a Platonic academy of resident scholars. All along the Fund continued to sponsor such valuable research as the Stouffer analysis of public attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties; the multi-volume study of Communism in American life, edited by Clinton Rossiter; and the controversial but courageous investigation of

"blacklisting" in the news and entertainment media, directed by John Cogley with the assistance of Michael Harrington and Paul Jacobs.

Reeves has written a competent and informative book, but one that is occasionally marred by wearisome detail on committee meetings and reports, a rigid chronological organization, and an uncritical point of view that often reads like the Fund's apologia. Nevertheless, Reeves's highly useful work will be of value to those studying McCarthyism, the cold war, and American civil liberties. Perhaps the most significant, though unexplored, aspect of the book is the manner in which civil libertarians had to render lip-service to anti-Communism in order to assure that the Fund survived the McCarthy period. Had this broader dimension been discussed, we might better know whether the American intellectual can "use the system" or whether the demands of truth will always conflict with the demands of politics.

*University of California, Irvine*

JOHN P. DIGGINS

KING: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *David L. Lewis*. (New York: Praeger Publications. 1970. Pp. xii, 460. \$7.95.)

It is surprising, so soon after the martyrdom of Martin Luther King, to find a biography that can go beyond eulogy to a critical study of King's Social Gospel ethics, his Baptist rhetoric, his nonviolent mode of action, his triumphs, token successes, and ultimate failure. David L. Lewis, now an associate professor at Morgan State College and a specialist in French history, was an undergraduate at Fisk in 1955 when King assumed the leadership of the Montgomery bus boycott, and he thus shares the skepticism of the student activists about King's rhetoric and tactics. The criticism is not carping, however, but full of sympathetic insights. Though denied access to the King private papers, Lewis has a full public record and the advantage of having grown up in Martin Luther King's Atlanta. Surprisingly, he does not cite August Meier's path-breaking article, "On the Role of Martin Luther King" (*New Politics*, 1965), though he quotes from it without reference (p. 300). Except for this oversight and some evidence of haste and careless editing, this is an excellent book that will do more to keep Martin Luther King and his "dream" alive in a different era than would more fulsome tributes.

It is perhaps a measure of how much America has changed since King began his work that the original demands of the Montgomery boycott were not for desegregation but for "a first-come first-served seating arrangement, with blacks filling the rear and whites the front." But this is essentially a study in failure, the failure of "De Lawd" to remake the world. This failure is shown in local depth in the Albany desegregation movement, where the cross-purposes of King, student activists, and local leaders led to a complete collapse, and in Birmingham and Chicago, where King covered by rhetoric his acceptance of half a loaf. His era climaxed in the March on Washington but ended in white backlash and black power.

It is to King's great credit that when the ghetto riots revealed the depths of black despair and rage, he alone among the old-line civil rights leaders tried to respond by "going beyond the social cosmetics of civil rights to second-layer economic and political reform." And he was almost alone in seeing in the Vietnam war the death of reform. Mr. Lewis concludes that King's failure was not only because he was killed at the moment he was groping toward a new reform coalition and program, but also for the same reasons that for a decade had promoted his success. King's Southern black bourgeois moderation, his simplistic moralism and generalized rhetoric aside, Mr. Lewis



believes that "in the strength of the technique of nonviolent passive resistance inhered the exploitable limitations of compromise and gradualism." It was no accident that King frequently quoted Booker T. Washington.

University of Maryland

LOUIS R. HARLAN

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE OF LATIN AMERICA: ESSAYS ON ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE IN PERSPECTIVE. By Stanley J. and Barbara H. Stein. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 222. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$1.50.)

For brief but profound insight into the economic and social pathology of "a continent of inadequate and disappointing fulfillment," it is difficult to imagine a work more satisfactory than this little volume. Neocolonialism and economic dependence are still so persistent that Stanley and Barbara Stein of Princeton University question those optimists who see industrial evolution and universal take-off models as relevant for the "travail of change which confronts Latin America today."

Their finely wrought collection of essays, however, devotes little space to recent history—only enough to drive home the notion that "in Latin America political systems . . . have concentrated . . . control over national decision-making in the hands of a self-perpetuating elite. . . ." It is rather from the watershed between Hapsburg and Bourbon dynasties that the Steins discuss the emergent New World pattern of economic dependence, administrative patronage, and social stratification. Macrohistory at its best, these connected essays (each introduced by pithy quotes from contemporary *relaciones* or reports) probe extensively into European economic development in the two centuries before and after 1700, drawing not only Spain and Portugal into the story, but also England, France, the Low Countries and, eventually, the United States. This is done so skillfully that the paperback version should be widely used in European and comparative economic history courses.

Latin-American scholars, who should profit quite as much as their students from this provocative work, will recognize many of the well-honed sentences as distillations of major published research, pursued further in the bibliographical essay. The book is not merely a fresh synthesis of social and economic historical writing, however, for the Steins have drawn heavily upon their own research into Spain's colonial problems in America, circa 1763–1828. As they themselves suggest, "it is in the manuscripts of governmental reports concerning metropolis and colonies that are found frank discussions of Spain's backwardness and underdevelopment vis-à-vis Europe's leading economic powers. . . ." Out of these revelations has come a bold new statement of the roots of Latin-American economic dependence.

The Andalusian commercial oligopoly and the pervasiveness of merchant power through administrative and social as well as economic spheres are the foci of the Steins' contribution. Once the empire had been established by *derecho de conquista*, there emerged "a kind of mercantile *mayorazgo*" whose masters held the penurious Crown in thrall, manipulated bureaucrats at all levels in America and Spain through patronage and bribery, collected tolls on the predominantly foreign trade out of Seville (later Cádiz), and countenanced contraband through kickbacks. These interlocking interests became so entrenched that pressures for change were absorbed at least until the capture of Havana in 1762 threatened the system itself. Even then, radical reform was but hesitatingly applied by Charles III who died leaving Cádiz still with 85 per cent of the colonial trade. This respectable Cosa Nostra controlled elite formation and corporate structures in America so thoroughly that ingrained pat-

terns were hardly modified by political independence. Nineteenth-century neocolonialism—explored through case studies of Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil—was the result.

Healthy debate will arise over the Steins's interpretation. The argument, however, is so cogently woven into discussions of demography, labor exploitation, containment of social tensions, co-optation of upwardly mobile *castas*, the economics of mining and latifundia, agricultural export commodities, foreign capital supremacy, tardy industrialization, and regional political anemia that only nitpickers are likely to score many points.

University of Connecticut

HUGH M. HAMILL, JR.

THE ORIGINS OF SOCIALISM IN CUBA. By *James O'Connor*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 338. \$10.00.)

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND REVOLUTION IN CUBA, 1920-1968. By *Jaime Suchlicki*. (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1969. Pp. 177. \$6.95.)

JAMES O'CONNOR's recent work is an informative case study of the developing world. Its overall thrust neatly underscores Robert Heilbroner's five caveats for American national policy toward so-called developing or emerging nations (*The Great Ascent* [1963]). If, as stated on the cover, this book "is certain to become controversial," critics will have to attack it on more narrow or partisan grounds. Its devastating rebuttal of the "revolution betrayed" school of thought challenges the credibility of popular authors such as Nathaniel Weyl (*Red Star Over Cuba* [1961]), Daniel James (*Cuba: The First Soviet Satellite in the Americas* [1961]), and Theodore Draper (*Castro's Revolution: Myths and Realities* [1962]). Professor O'Connor also submits a welcome "correction" of the "rebound theory" embraced by "most writers who are (or were) sympathetic to the revolution," notably Maurice Zeitlin and Robert Scheer (*Cuba: Tragedy in Our Hemisphere* [1963]). For years this group has castigated official Washington for allegedly pushing Cuba into the Communist camp.

To further set the record straight, the author reminds his readers of something frequently overlooked in criticisms of Castro's rapid—and surprisingly peaceful—dismantling of Cuban capitalism. In point of fact, the central government had been actively intervening in economic matters for almost a generation before the revolution. By accelerating development of a mixed economy at the expense of Cuba's private sector, Batista's second dictatorship unwittingly prepared the island for complete socialization after his downfall.

In three chapters dealing with the economic and political background, and five more that trace the revolution from 1959 to 1964, Professor O'Connor builds a convincing case for "two major theses." The first holds that "Cuban economic stagnation and underdevelopment before 1959 was attributable to the cartelization of agriculture, monopolistic industrial organization and practices, and the subordination of the Cuban economy to the United States economy." All efforts to get the island off dead center failed because "Cuban governments attempted to apply political solutions to economic problems." The second thesis maintains that Cuba's revolutionary leaders not only understood the country's major economic problems, but were also determined to solve them, "no matter what the political repercussions or implications."

A final chapter takes up what Professor O'Connor calls the "political economy of Cuban socialism"—namely, how an essentially classless revolution against Batista developed into a class struggle over the issue of private property. Of considerable interest is the author's explanation as to "why the Communists posed no real threat to

Castro's leadership," as well as the revolution's lack of any "fixed ideological position" until 1961, and "the interplay between ideology and practice since then." Up to this point the book represents a fresh and provocative approach to one of the most misunderstood political phenomena of our times.

Both Professor O'Connor and his readers would have been better served by omission of a rambling and highly subjective postscript about "the evolution of Cuban socialism since 1964." Personal commitment to the revolution may also have led him to accept the Castro government's statistics at face value. Referring to an article published by Professor O'Connor in 1966, which was subsequently incorporated into the present work, the author of an exhaustive monograph on the subject observes that "his study is not supported by quantitative data." (Carmelo Mesa-Lago, "Availability and Reliability of Statistics in Socialist Cuba," *Latin American Research Review*, IV [1969], 60).

Jaime Suchlicki's brief account of university student movements in Cuba makes an interesting companion piece for Professor O'Connor's book. The former was born in Cuba, participated in student political activities there, and has few kind words for Fidel Castro. Notwithstanding obvious ideological differences, the results of his study tend to confirm some of Professor O'Connor's conclusions. Cuban university students and their undeniably gifted leaders were, according to Professor Suchlicki, "well-intentioned but politically unsophisticated young people who desired the best for their country." Even when Fulgencio Batista was only an army sergeant, he easily outmaneuvered them and their political allies during the confused period that followed the overthrow of Gerardo Machado's blood-soaked dictatorship in 1933.

Many of the young men and women in Cuba's three national universities (especially those at the University of Havana) displayed astonishing personal bravery in suicidal attempts to rid the island of dictators, including Castro himself. Noble as their ends may have been, the violence employed often proved counterproductive, provoking progressively harsher reprisals. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of university students came from middle- and upper-class families. It was difficult for them to identify with the submerged rural and urban masses who made up most of the Cuban population. Compared to the cynical and corrupt regimes that mismanaged Cuba prior to 1959, student leaders indeed seemed like revolutionary reformers. But they still thought in terms that Professor O'Connor impatiently dismisses as "remedies concocted from the theories of reformed capitalism in advanced industrial countries," and that were "totally bankrupt as applied to Cuba." Student organizations thus failed to perceive the urgent need for profound changes in the nation's economic and social structure; they were prescribing drugs for a patient who really required radical surgery. When the time finally came, in Professor Suchlicki's words, "to fill the vacuum left by the dictator" Batista, they never had a chance against Castro.

The last two chapters follow "changes that have taken place among students and in the universities since Castro came to power." Along the way, they answer such intriguing questions as what becomes of a once powerful student movement "in a post-insurgency phase." As in earlier sections, the author makes judicious use of personal interviews to piece his story together. Some of these (especially anecdotes about Fidel Castro in his university days) make lively reading. Lively or not, the entire book provides potential object lessons for American readers on the use of violence and terror to reform existing institutions. More specifically, as Professor Donald Worcester comments in his foreword, "Both student activists and university officials may find some profit, if not solace, in this analysis of student political activism in Cuba."

*Northern Illinois University*

ROLAND T. ELY

PARTIES AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN BOLIVIA, 1880-1952. By *Herbert S. Klein*. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 5.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xv, 451. \$14.50.)

ASIDE from the pioneering studies of H. Osborne, R. J. Alexander, R. Patch, and a few others, North American scholars have largely ignored the complex and fascinating thicket of modern Bolivia. This is particularly surprising, given the fact that the revolutionary process initiated in Bolivia in 1952 is counted along with Mexico and Cuba as one of modern Latin America's three "true" revolutions. Although some aspects of the revolution itself have recently been subjected to careful study, especially by anthropologists, there has been almost no systematic historical analysis of the developments that preceded and led to the revolution.

The publication of this book, which to my knowledge is the first really systematic history of twentieth-century Bolivia in English, constitutes a major attempt to fill in that gap and is therefore an important event. Happily, the event gains added significance from the thoroughness, precision, and clarity with which Professor Klein has carried out his task.

Klein presents us with a historical analysis that traces the roots of the revolution of 1952 to the failure of the pre-existent political structures to absorb and grapple with the complex social and economic changes that Bolivian society experienced between 1880 and 1940. It was this "political failure" that made the revolution of 1952, in the author's words, "almost inevitable." Yet this book is no simple political narrative, nor history in terms of great men or important events. Events are chronicled and important men analyzed. These dimensions give the study a flesh-and-blood quality and a level of narrative excitement that makes it interesting as well as instructive reading. But Klein has managed to give his reader significantly more.

Basically this work is a study in political economy. It traces in detail the development in Bolivia after 1880 of what was apparently a modern and stable two-party political system. Although related to, and partly caused by economic and social changes that occurred during the same period, this relatively modern set of political structures was grafted onto what remained as one of Latin America's most backward social and economic systems. This lack of fit between the polity and the social and economic structures that underpinned it was to become an increasing source of tension in the entire "traditional system." Nowhere was this problem more evident than in the extremely limited level of political participation legally permitted by the polity. Denied the important stimulus of participation, the traditional liberal and republican parties, the linchpins of the system, atrophied and remained little more than inward-oriented elitist cliques.

Thus, when for various reasons (the author delineates them at length) excluded social groups such as workers began to mobilize themselves, the traditional parties were unable to contain or shape this movement. The process became particularly significant in the aftermath of the disastrous Chaco War that left Bolivia demoralized, economically insolvent, and in a state of intense political agitation. Totally unprepared for such a situation, the traditional parties floundered. The result was the rapid emergence of a number of new political movements that not only challenged the traditional parties, but the very orders they epitomized. One, the *Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario* (MNR), succeeded in mobilizing most of those excluded from the old system and on April 9, 1952, swept aside what was, for all intents and purposes, an already dead political system and plunged Bolivia into revolution.

No book is perfect, and this one is no exception. Klein is significantly stronger in

dealing with events up to 1940 than he is with later developments. One might also question his reliance on certain Bolivian statistics and the conclusions he draws from them. Historians will undoubtedly fault him in some matters of fact and interpretation. Other social scientists will legitimately question his overemphasis of some dimensions to the exclusion of others. Students of revolution will call attention to a lack of a clearly stated theoretical focus and a paucity of analytical categories. In all these areas the book is lacking and should (and no doubt shall) be challenged. Yet there is no doubt in my mind that this path-breaking study will stand the tests of time and criticism. The richness of the research, the sophistication of the analysis, and the excitement of the narrative will make this a standard work for all students of modern Bolivia.

University of Pittsburgh

JAMES M. MALLOY

FIDALGOS AND PHILANTHROPISTS: THE SANTA CASA DA MISERICÓRDIA OF BAHIA, 1550-1755. By A. J. R. Russell-Wood. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xvii, 429. \$12.50.)

THE Brazilian city of Bahia was once the most important overseas center in the Portuguese empire. Its hinterland included not only the nearby sugar plantations, but also the vast cattle ranches of the Brazilian backlands and a large part of the southern mining regions opened up in the eighteenth century. As the capital of a major colony and as a way station to India, it drew Portuguese administrators, sailors, merchants, and peasants, while crowded slave ships from Africa also docked at its wharves. If the class rigidities of the mother country were strengthened by the presence of a self-conscious landed aristocracy alongside a mass of slaves, they were weakened by the confrontations of races and classes in a relatively open New World setting.

In *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*, a major new work, A. J. R. Russell-Wood studies a prominent social institution of Bahia with constant attention to its place within this diverse and colorful setting. In the Portuguese world, lay brotherhoods typically took charge of those welfare functions usually handled by religious orders in Spain and Spanish America. The most important of these, whether one speaks of Lisbon, Macau, Rio de Janeiro, or Bahia, was the Santa Casa da Misericórdia. Basing his work on a detailed examination of the records of its Bahia branch, Russell-Wood describes its activities in accepting and preserving funds and properties willed or granted to it by the wealthy and in expending the income therefrom upon a multiplicity of charitable activities. The Santa Casa administered the major, and almost only hospital of Bahia, cared for the weak and helpless, such as foundlings, prisoners, orphaned girls, and single women, and ministered to the spiritual needs of the affluent dead by providing sumptuous burial ceremonies and saying masses for their souls in perpetuity. In relating all this the author keeps an attentive eye on the ambiguities of the relationships between master and slave, or between old aristocrat and newly risen bourgeois, or between male and female in a society characterized both by the Moorish seclusion of women and by the expectation that at the close of a religious procession the men would likely lie with the women in the street. Somewhat less successfully Russell-Wood also examines the plight of an organization caught up in the struggles for political power between viceroy, city council, bishop, and king.

But one misses a firm and explicit speculative frame that would lead beyond description to real understanding. Even the transformation of Bahian class structure through the rise of a merchant class is alluded to only in scattered passages. His refer-

ences to ideology are tantalizing, but he does not go beyond a few remarks on secularization, by which he principally means the reaction to urbanization. Perhaps such an interpretive effort is too much to expect from a book so thoroughly grounded in the sources and clearly dependent on an immense gathering effort.

More surprising is that, despite a very evident interest in race relations, the author makes no attempt to examine thoughtfully the broad implications of the data presented here regarding their nature. Russell-Wood follows the lead of C. R. Boxer, his mentor, in deriding the alleged racial democracy of the Portuguese. But not only does some of his evidence point in the opposite direction, but his haste—evident also in a certain stylistic carelessness—makes him in some ways a captive of his sources and leads him to express a colonialist point of view, as when he refers to both the Indian and the Negro in Brazil as “the native,” or when he alleges that persons of Negro race, presumably everywhere and without regard to cultural context, “regard the family as a more flexible social unit than [does] the white man.” But, as is true for those who are intrigued by the Santa Casa’s larger role, historians who piece together the story of race relations in Brazil will rely heavily on *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*, for its author asked important questions and sought for the answers in previously untouched archival sources.

University of Utah

RICHARD GRAHAM

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF SÃO PAULO, 1880–1945. By *Warren Dean*.

[Latin American Monographs, Number 17. Institute of Latin American Studies, the University of Texas at Austin.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1969. Pp. x, 263. \$7.50.)

THIS is an analysis of the emergence of an industrial entrepreneurial elite—its origins, development, aspirations, and mentality—within the matrix of a plantation economy and society. The significance of this work for comparative history is obvious, for São Paulo’s economic growth provides a virtually unique example of recent industrialization in an export economy. In variety of data utilized, in lucidity of argument, and in range and quality of conclusions offered and questions raised, Dean’s study is a fine contribution to the analysis of industrial elites in peripheral areas of the Atlantic economy.

This well-structured and reasoned analysis presents the major focus and draws logical conclusions for each of three chronological periods. In the period from 1880 to the outbreak of the First World War, the dynamic factor in the regional economy and in early industrial enterprise was the growth of the coffee export sector, which, in turn, created local demand for consumer goods with high cost-to-weight ratios. As might be expected, many of the entrepreneurial elite came from the import sector, which was largely pre-empted by immigrant businessmen; but unexpectedly these were complemented by coffee planters who immediately recognized the profit potential of industrial enterprise. Conflicts of interest did not materialize, however, for “difference in outlook between plantation and factory owners and between native Brazilian aristocracy and immigrant *nouveau riche* were not sufficiently great to prevent the formation of a generalized bourgeois identity that embraced all of them as employers, property-owners, and as members of a regional elite.”

In the second part Dean argues that the First World War stimulated little increase in Paulista industrial capacity (“new plants and new lines of manufacture were not significant”) since the European conflict reduced imports of capital goods. Further, in



the interwar decades he sees minimal industrial diversification and a decline in industrial output per capita to a rate one-half that of 1900–1920. Industrial contraction led industrialists to the formation of price- and production-agreements that inevitably triggered public criticism. Thus, by the late twenties, Paulista industrialists displayed the birthmarks of development within the export matrix. Incapable of formulating and implementing an independent policy for industrial expansion and diversification and unwilling to increase demand for their products by raising living standards of rural consumers, they “prudently chose to support the planters . . . in return for intermittent favors.”

In the largest section, which treats the Vargas years, 1930–45, Dean reviews the ideology and politics of Paulista industrialists. Not surprisingly, he finds a notable lack of dynamism in the thirties: industrialists as a group did not emphasize innovation, subsidize technical institutes, or seek to modernize plant and equipment. Frightened by worker and lower middle-class discontent, they were corporativist and even fascist in social and political outlook. Dean proposes that “fondness for the Fascist ideology was symptomatic of a profound crisis in the development of Brazilian industrial capitalism,” since capitalism requires that “the worker deserves more than a subsistence regime.” Only in the period 1935–37 did industrial spokesmen formulate a comprehensive policy for economic development based upon industrial rather than agricultural expansion, and only in these years of crisis was the Vargas government prepared to abandon economic liberalism for a policy of import substitution on a modest scale. Moreover, as Dean puts together the pieces of the political puzzle, quick resolution of political and economic crises to preserve the status quo required an end to the politicization of the Brazilian people; this was to lead to the creation of Vargas’ *Estado Novo*. In fact, under the technocratic and authoritarian government between 1937 and 1945, there occurred the closest collaboration between Paulista industrialists and the national government. By 1945 Paulista industrialists were perhaps at best a timid bourgeoisie whose day had passed, less interested in cost efficiency and stimulation of demand than in monopoly and oligopoly, more attracted to political manipulation than to technological research and manpower training; hence the inescapable conclusion that the “manufacturers were plainly disqualified from embarking their society upon a conscious policy of industrialization.”

Since it is now evident that post-1945 Paulista industrial growth reflects the stimuli of both government and the multinational corporation, Dean’s study raises, by indirection, questions relevant both to Paulista industrial growth and to economic growth in areas hitherto dependent upon the world’s economic core. The waning of Paulista entrepreneurship cannot be attributed to such pathological factors as a mentality of cultural inferiority; as Dean argues persuasively early in his book, “entrepreneurial activity is not held in check by profound cultural process.” Unfortunately he mentions briefly but does not evaluate the hypothesis that Paulista entrepreneurial stagnation may be the result of two interrelated factors: first, limited access to capital accumulation and technology required by sophisticated industrialization and available only in the world’s economic core and, second, the pressure of the multinational corporation geared to direct rather than portfolio investment, to control rather than co-participation. In a broader context, Dean’s Paulista case study seems to confirm that the process of capitalist industrialization via import substitution in the hands of a national bourgeoisie in peripheral economies of the world—even in Latin America’s largest

industrial complex—is headed inevitably toward external control and manipulation, that is, toward conflict of interest and, ultimately, crisis.

*Princeton University*

STANLEY J. STEIN

LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY IN LATIN AMERICA: A STUDY OF CHILEAN POLITICAL CULTURE. By *Francisco José Moreno*. (New York: New York University Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 197. \$6.95.)

THE author presents Latin-American political stability as a logical consequence of adherence to social traditions, and instability is the inevitable price of nonconformity with such factors. Adoption of alien institutions leads to political instability and therefore hampers socioeconomic and political reforms.

Two kinds of illegitimate leadership are described: power-based regimes—that is to say dictatorship—and personal domination or charismatic rule. The former cannot be legitimized, while the latter may become so if the caudillo is able to institutionalize his system in conformity with social traditions. A caveat given by the author is that charismatic leadership can lead either to a Diego Portales and stability, or to a Fidel Castro and consequences that are implied but not proved in this book.

Contained in these pages is an ominous rationalization accommodating “authoritarianism” to democracy. The author would have it that rule that is “culturally understandable and acceptable” is conducive to political participation and is implicitly democratic. Perhaps, but could not the tyranny of the majority thus be passed off as a democratic consensus?

The author contends that the independence movement in Chile began as a non-revolutionary civil war, and he denigrates the American and French experiences as immediate causal factors in the revolt. Application of this thesis to Latin America in general is conceivable by reference to other studies, but not on the basis of a study of a single South American nation.

Defining his terms, the author differentiates sharply and superfluously between authoritarianism and “authoritarianism.” He maintains that the former suggests illegitimacy and the latter “a single center of legitimate political power.” The exercise in semantics may be essential to the development of the author’s thesis, but what is legitimate to him could suggest the contrary to a reader.

The sources used are tried and true, and the author’s conclusions appear valid so long as they are applied only to Chile. The case study method has limitations, and perhaps generalizations, sweeping or otherwise, should await further case studies on other countries. The author is certainly qualified to undertake such investigations, judging by the over-all quality of this work.

*Humboldt State College*

PHILIP J. HOUSEMAN

PRESSURE GROUPS AND POWER ELITES IN PERUVIAN POLITICS. By *Carlos A. Astiz*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 316. \$12.00.)

THE study of Latin-American political behavior has long been subject to a simplified scheme in which the major concentrations of power have been labeled the “army,” the “Church,” and the “oligarchy”—usually conservative forces. Lesser powers were the unions, the urban or rural proletariat, the political parties, and the “middle sectors.” The whole kaleidoscope of forces would be jarred into new configurations by the

impact of powerful, personalistic caudillos whose appearance on the scene could transfer the study from politics per se to the field of individual psychology.

Many recent events have indicated that the traditional forces in this system were no longer acting as they once did. The times required a new, fresh look at the situation in each country.

This kind of examination of Peru is the task Carlos Astiz set for himself, and he has had fair success. The work, by its nature, could not be definitive, but the depth of the study is impressive, has opened new areas for examination, and has extirpated much of the underbrush of folklore that has grown up around our concepts of Latin-American politics.

The author, as a good political scientist, first examines the conceptual assumptions he will accept for his study. He wisely recognizes the need for basic, descriptive research before any attempt to embark on "comprehensive typologies and all-inclusive frameworks," such as some of his colleagues have erected. He proceeds to examine the present character of the various power elite groups mentioned above and accepts the concept of social class as a tool of analysis. He points out that Peru has a recognizable middle class, although North-American scholars have been reluctant to accept it as such because it does not behave like the middle class in the United States.

He adds one more power to the traditional factors in what he calls "external factors"—foreign investors and foreign governments. By so doing he adds a dimension that makes his study infinitely more sophisticated than most previous studies conducted in the US that were too preoccupied with written constitutions, party platforms, and voting patterns. He applies the concept of a "penetrated political system" to Peru and examines the nature of the penetration both within the economic sphere and in the military. He shows how part of the oligarchy became the representatives of foreign investors. He even initiates a study into the various sectors of the oligarchy and the interlocking membership between such social groups as the Jockey Club, the management of business firms, and the *latifundistas*.

As the author states, his work is only a beginning, but it is such a promising one that it will influence future Peruvian studies. Unfortunately, he completed the major text before the military take-over of October 3, 1968, but was able to add a twelve-page postscript on the military regime. This takes nothing from the value of his work but indicates the need for a new study based on the impact of the military regime on the power structure. It is too early to say whether the author was wrong or not in his original text when he said "the present distribution of power in Peru shows a remarkable tendency to remain essentially as it is, and as it has been for a long time."

University of Miami

ROBERT E. McNICOLL

## \* \* \* Other Books Received \* \* \*

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\* \* \* \* *Association Notes* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Perry Long has joined the staff of the Association as membership secretary. A retired chief warrant officer of the US Army, Mr. Long most recently served in the office of the secretary of defense. Mr. Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr., has joined the staff of the *American Historical Review* as assistant editor and bibliographer. Mr. Papenfuse has served as bibliographer for the department of history at The Johns Hopkins University, where he is completing his doctoral dissertation. In the past year he has been working in the Hall of Records at Annapolis on a project, supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities and Historical Annapolis, Inc., called "Community and the Congress: Annapolis in the 1780's." At the *AHR* Mr. Papenfuse will be responsible for supervising the bibliographical operations of the journal and for organizing more effectively than has hitherto been possible the coverage of historical studies published in this country and abroad.

. . . . . *Recent Deaths* . . . . .

PAUL BIRDSALL died in St. Croix, US Virgin Islands, on May 2, 1970. Before entering a career in the foreign service, Dr. Birdsall had been professor of history and dean at Williams College and a trustee of Vassar College. He served with the Office of Strategic Services during the Second World War and in 1947 was sent to Paris as assistant military attaché to the US Embassy. He was later a foreign service reserve officer in Paris and attaché RFSO to the US Embassy in Stockholm.

Dr. Birdsall collaborated on a Brookings Institution study of the Austrian treaty, the results of which were published under his name. His other publications include: *"Philosopher King": Wilson at Versailles* and *Versailles, 20 Years After*, as well as many journal articles. He was the recipient of honors including the Legion of Merit, the Order of the British Empire, the Médaille de la Libération, and the Reconnaissance française.

WAYNE C. GROVER, third archivist of the United States, died June 8, 1970, in Silver Spring, Maryland. Dr. Grover joined the staff of the National Archives in 1935 and in 1948 was appointed archivist. In this position he was instrumental in developing the Truman and Eisenhower libraries and the Sam Rayburn Memorial Library. After retirement Dr. Grover served as a consultant to the Lyndon B. Johnson Library.

During World War II Dr. Grover spent two years in the Office of Strategic Services and then was appointed chief of the Records Management Branch in the Adjutant General's Office. He was awarded the Legion of Merit for his management of army wartime records.

Dr. Grover was a founding member and fellow of the American Society of Archivists and was president of the society in 1953-54. He was both a council member and Western Hemisphere vice-president of the International Council on Archives and was a member of the US Commission for UNESCO.

MARY CLABAUGH WRIGHT, 1918-70. In 1938 Mary Clabaugh came to that part of Harvard known as Radcliffe to pursue European history—at first glance tall, smooth, and beautiful, a bit shy, with a soft Southern accent (born in Tuscaloosa); at second glance not so smooth as sharp, a *summa* from Vassar, tremendously quick and a ferocious worker, racing to keep up with her imagination. She ran into a pioneer field, modern Chinese history, saw its opportunity, embraced it, and soon devoured what there was of it at that time in Western books. So she began Chinese and met another graduate student, Arthur F. Wright, from Portland, Oregon, by way of Stanford and Oxford, whose taste and style both complemented and supplemented hers. He was training in Sinology—dictionaries, texts, the French savants—to study Sui and T'ang, a superb companion, counselor, and balance wheel for an adventurous pioneer in modern Chinese history. They married in 1940 and went to Kyoto in the teeth of Sino-Japanese War and Japanese-American tension; they were not deterred and moved on to Peking in 1941, seizing the chance to live in and explore this other ancient capital in a way that no one since has been able to do. Pearl Harbor caught them there, and

they spent most of World War II in a big, humdrum internment camp at Wei-hsien in Shantung. He coaxed fire from dirty coal in the boiler room; she did the hospital laundry. But opportunity is where one sees it, and she seized the chance to learn Russian, for it along with Chinese and Japanese would unlock China's future history.

Released in 1945, the Wrights stayed in Peking to be scholars, but then another chance offered—Harold Fisher of the library of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace wanted to get the record on China's revolution. Mary Wright became his collector and suddenly erupted with entrepreneurial energy, skill, and resourcefulness. She combed the Peking book market *Liu-li-ch'ang*, badgered government agencies, tracked down rumored collections, and flew to major centers on the battered DC-3's that criss-crossed China in those postwar days under the auspices of the American army. This remarkable collection, including Communist serials from Yen-an, still makes the Hoover Institution unique. It also showed her style, accumulating an avalanche of bits and pieces, mixed rarities and handouts; sorting and listing and getting them properly packed and actually shipped, meanwhile keeping it all in mind and constantly communicating the results. Small wonder that after returning to Harvard, where her husband took his Ph.D., Mary Wright became curator of the Hoover's Chinese collection. During the next decade she made it a world center, got out a series of research guides by specialists, and became herself a bibliographic expert. In the same decade she bore and nurtured two fine sons, Duncan and Jonathan, completed her thesis, got it revised and published, and found herself suddenly a major historian.

*The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: the T'ung-chih Restoration 1862-1874* (Stanford, 1957) remains a classic and the outstanding work on the late Ch'ing because the author, having set out in 1940 "to study China in the 1860's," had gone through all the basic central government documentation in the mountainous *Veritable Records* (*Ch'ing shih lu*) and had comprehended the story contained therein. Her book created its subject. It analyzes the effort to revive the imperial Confucian order after the mid-century rebellions, the ideas and values of the leadership, where they succeeded and why they failed. In prefacing a 1966 reprint she wrote: "I formed my estimates of these men by studying them in action and reading their writings. Since I tried to see their problems through their eyes, my estimates are generally sympathetic . . . The Restoration was a tragedy in which the ultimate failure of high hopes and grand endeavor was already foreshadowed in the moment of triumph. The great men of the age saw the triumph amid lengthening shadows."

Already on top of two careers, library builder and creative scholar, Mary Wright was invited with her husband in 1959 to the history department at Yale to embark on a third career as Yale's first lady professor. She responded to this singular recognition and the esteem of professional colleagues across the country with a warm outpouring of concern for her students, for the university, and for her field. Past the struggles of the pioneer era, she now worked, like her husband, to bring China into the mainstream of historical thinking. She became a lecturer of compelling lucidity, grace, and wit, but with plenty of bite, and volcanic when indignant. Never hesitant in moral courage, she had defended Owen Lattimore in the early 1950's as he deserved to be defended. Now she denounced our bombing of the Vietnamese as it deserved to be denounced, straight out. She served on the ACLS-SSRC Joint Committee on Contemporary China (1963-66), chaired its effective subcommittee on materials, and founded an international body, the Society for Ch'ing Studies. Publishers vied to get her meticulous and exhaustive manuscript appraisals, which might obliterate a poor job but make a mediocre book into a superior one.

Her research now turned to another watershed in China, the final collapse of the dynasty that had been restored in the 1860's. The flow of publications fifty years after 1911 had inspired talented younger scholars, and Mary Wright organized and led in 1965 a research conference with twenty-two participants from six countries. Her introduction to the resulting volume, *China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913* (New Haven, 1968), displays her special quality as a scholar—comprehensive, thorough, decisive. This volume now forms the baseline for further work.

This brief note on the fruitful career of an extraordinary human being will remind hundreds of readers how they might add to it from their own experience. Love begets love, and in work and in friendship with students and colleagues, Mary Wright gave to each occasion all she had; she had a special vitality, and this vital warmth was widely reciprocated. She faced death at fifty-two with utter realism and courage, mindful of others, and died at home on June 18, 1970.

*East Asian Research Center, Harvard University*

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

Other members of the Association who died recently are: MARY EFFIE CAMERON JAMES, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; C. W. MACKAUER, of Chicago, Illinois; PAUL SCHMUNK, of Wisconsin State University, Whitewater; and E. H. SVENSSON, of Evergreen, Colorado.



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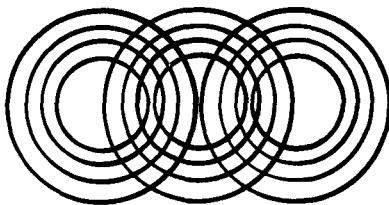


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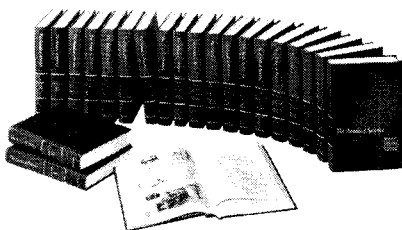
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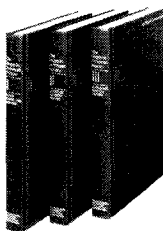


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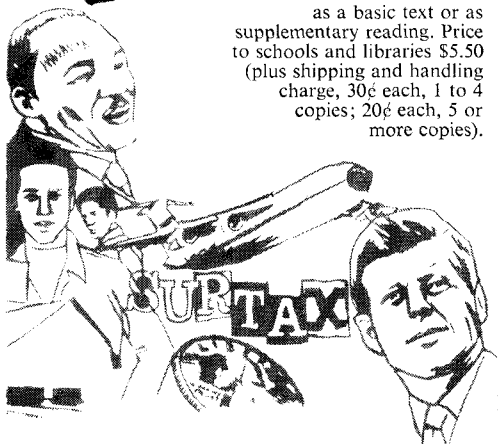
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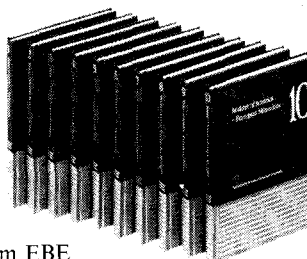
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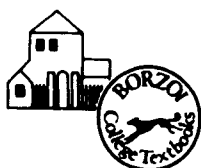
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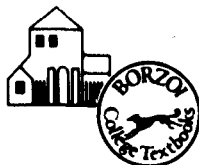
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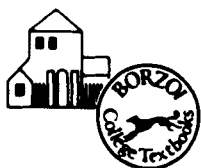
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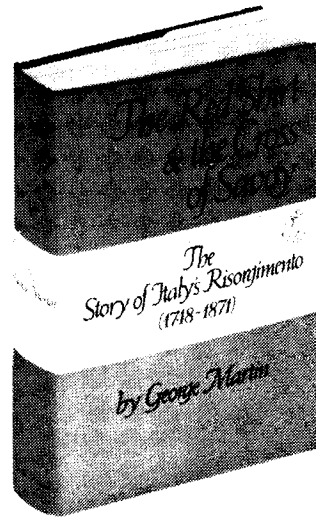
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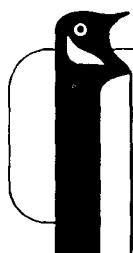
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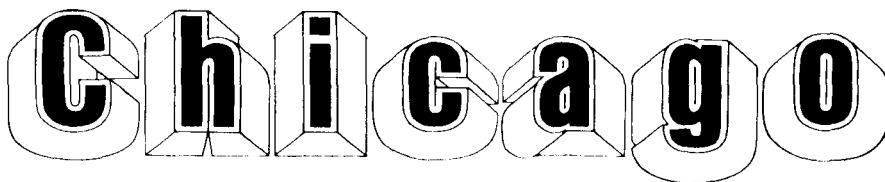
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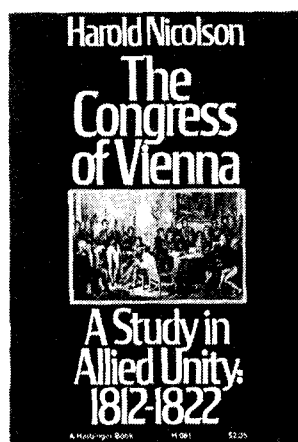
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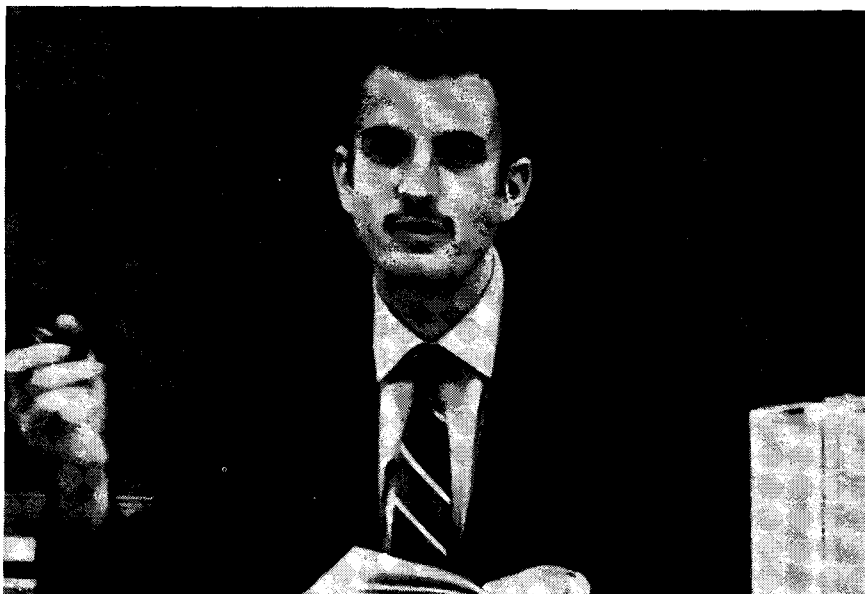
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